

The World Tomorrow

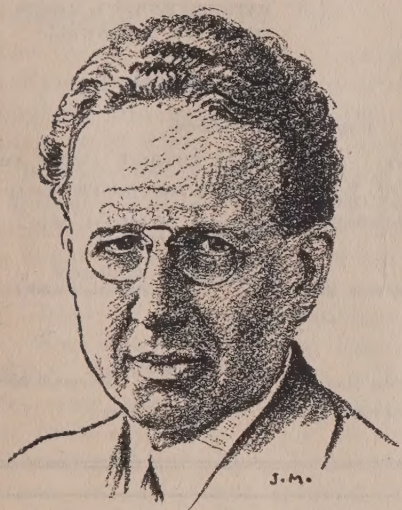
JUNE, 1931

CAN THE CHURCH STOP WAR?

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES



ALBERT EINSTEIN

BRUCE BARTON

A. MAUDE ROYDEN

BERTRAND RUSSELL

ADMIRAL BRADLEY A. FISKE

GENERAL DOUGLAS MAC ARTHUR



TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY

TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

The World Tomorrow

VOL. XIV

JUNE, 1931

No. 6

Copyright, 1931, The World Tomorrow, Inc.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Editorials	179
Spain Will Make Good. By Devere Allen	184
Song of the Builders (<i>verse</i>). By Mildred Ferguson Cousens	186
Can the Church Stop War. By Harry Emerson Fosdick,	
Carrie Chapman Catt, and John Haynes Holmes	187
Mahatma Gandhi (<i>verse</i>). By Jeannette Tompkins	191
Reverberations!	192
Not in the Headlines	198
Findings	200
The Book End	201
Correspondence	204
Announcements	205
The Last Page	206

Published the first day of each month at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, Inc.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 25 cents; \$2 per year; Canada, \$2.25; foreign, \$2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual Subscription, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Who's Who in This Issue

Mildred Ferguson Cousens is a new contributor to THE WORLD TOMORROW.

Harry Emerson Fosdick is minister of the Riverside Church in New York.

Carrie Chapman Catt, well-known woman suffrage pioneer, divides her time as a lecturer, writer, editor, and leader of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War.

John Haynes Holmes is minister of the Community Church in New York.

Dr. Jeannette Tompkins is a resident of Philadelphia who practices medicine as well as writes poetry.

Lois MacDonald is professor of economics in New York University.

Paul Jones is religious advisor to the students of Antioch College.

Raymond Sanford is director of Common Ground, a Chicago community center.

Vincent Burns is minister of the Union Church at Palisade, New Jersey.

Howard Y. Williams is executive secretary of the League for Independent Political Action.

The World Tomorrow, Inc.

EDITORS

KIRBY PAGE
DEVERE ALLEN
REINHOLD NIEBUHR

GLADYS E. MEYERAND, ASSOCIATE EDITOR
A. ALBERT MACLEOD, BUSINESS MANAGER

OFFICERS

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE, PRESIDENT
KENNETH E. WALSER, TREASURER
CAROLINE B. LA MONTE, SECRETARY

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

SAMUEL M. CAVERT
SARAH N. CLEGHORN
PAUL H. DOUGLAS
SHERWOOD EDDY
H. C. ENGELBRECHT
ZONA GALE
HENRY T. HODGKIN

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
PAUL JONES
HALFORD E. LUCCOCK
PATRICK MURPHY MALIN
FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL
A. J. MUSTE
NORMAN THOMAS

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

C. F. ANDREWS (INDIA)	ANNE GUTHRIE (SOUTH AMERICA)
A. FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P. (ENGLAND)	ARTHUR JORGENSEN (JAPAN)
WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN (RUSSIA)	AGNES C. MACPHAIL, M.P. (CANADA)
L. T. CHEN (CHINA)	CHARLES A. THOMSON (CENTRAL AMERICA)
DONALD GRANT (SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE)	

MARVIN BENDINER,
SUBSCRIPTION MANAGER

SOPHIE TREFON,
EDITORIAL SECRETARY

ETHELRED BROWN, OFFICE SECRETARY

Appearing Soon

A Seven Per Cent War

Seymour Waldman

War Debts and Armaments

Count Eberhard Westarp

Champion of Women and Children: *The Story of*
Grace Abbott

The Sickness of Liberal Religion

Henry P. Van Dusen

An American Negro in South Africa

Frank B. Lenz

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIV

June, 1931

No. 6

Editorials

Propaganda On the Air

The United States Army Information Service has recently addressed an appeal to broadcasting stations throughout the country for "ten minutes of time regularly each week. . . . The material we send you will be instructive and entertaining. . . . Our series of sketches will contain a strong human-interest element. . . . A franked postcard is enclosed for your reply. We hope to hear from you." The two samples enclosed give a glowing account of army life. The listener is to be informed that the army builds men, "four-square, upstanding Regulars and MEN"; furnishes an opportunity for adventures in many climes; and makes possible the learning of a skilled trade while earning pay equal to that of "any other rifle-toter in the world." For some reason nothing whatever is said about training in the science of human slaughter or the regular duties of a fighting man.

We Applaud the American Legion!

"Perhaps the most glorious thing that ever happened in the City of New York," is the superlative way in which Mayor Walker characterized the action of an American Legion post in urging a revision of the Treaty of Versailles and the wiping out of war-time hatreds. This significant proposal was made at a banquet tendered by the Legion to German and Austrian residents of New York who had fought in the armies of the Central Powers and who have since become naturalized American citizens or have taken out their first papers.

The resolution reads: "Whereas, we of the Lexington Post, 108, of the American Legion know that our fallen comrades who threw to us the torch did not intend it to be a perpetual pillar of hate to be transmitted to children even to the third and fourth generations; and

"Whereas, the only way to prevent the breeding of hate and envy in the minds of the children of Europe is by eradicating the causes thereof; therefore be it

"Resolved by the Lexington Post that we urge either new treaties or the revision of old treaties so that love

and friendship may supplant envy and hate in the minds of generations in Europe yet unborn and insure that our children's children may never be drawn into the horrors of another war."

Added significance is attached to this resolution because it was offered by Past National Commander Edward E. Spafford and the further fact that it elicited a special message of commendation from President Hoover. No other group in America is in as favorable a position to overcome international suspicion and to bury war-time animosities as are the members of the American Legion. And so with enthusiasm we applaud this forward step by a New York post!

Communism and Christianity in China

It is difficult at this distance to know just what character the communist movement is assuming in China. Up to a very recent present it appeared that communism and banditry could, as many critics averred, not be distinguished from each other. Undoubtedly there were predatory gangs with no aim but plunder who were dubbed or who called themselves communists. On the other hand, the communist movement as such seemed to distinguish itself chiefly by its sanguinary procedure against anyone who possessed a single bit of property, and there were few evidences of statesmanlike leadership or unity in its undertakings. In late months there are signs that the movement is achieving a hitherto unknown cohesion, and it is quite within the realm of possibility that it will become the most powerful threat against the present government.

Whether communism has a program for China, and if it has, whether it will be able to carry it out, is no easy question to answer. In so far as it is the only movement which is attacking landlordism and excessive usury, basic economic evils prevalent throughout the Orient, it is bound to win more and more support from the disinherited. But since landlordism does not extend over the whole of China, a goodly portion of the country being parcelled out in small freeholds, it may be taken for granted that the program of the communists will not have a very wide appeal and may cause years of internecine strife.

Many observers believe that communism in China has neither the constructive statesmanship nor the logical inevitability that it had in Russia, where a nation of serfs had no other political instrument against the landlord.

In spite of these misgivings about the future and the applicability of communism in China—misgivings which, as far as the editors of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* are concerned, cover many aspects of communism in Russia as well—the fact that Christianity is being played up in China and by friends of missions outside of China as a kind of bulwark against communism fills us with apprehension. There is only one way that such emphasis can have a meaning which will save Christianity in the Orient from becoming a support of reaction, and that is for the Christian forces to attack with the same vigor, though with different methods, the economic evils against which communism contends. Judged from the perspective of the western world, this seems an almost impossible demand. Happily, however, there are Christian forces in China which make the hope of such a development not altogether utopian. And, while it will not be easily achieved, it is the only way of saving Christianity as a vital ethical force. What is true of China is, of course, equally true of the rest of the world. As Paul Hutchinson, editor of the *Christian Century*, recently pointed out in his valuable book "Religion and World Revolution," there is revolt against economic injustice everywhere in the world. Any religion which strives for justice less zealously than the forces of rebellion will loose its claim upon the conscience of the most sensitive spirits of our age. If justice is to be created without violence, there will have to be a greater passion for social righteousness and equality among the opponents of violence than is now apparent.

Big Business and Reparations

In spite of opposition from the Administration, the recent conference of the International Chamber of Commerce passed resolutions advocating disarmament, frowning upon tariffs, and calling for a re-examination of reparations and war debts. But for Washington's attitude the resolution would undoubtedly have been much stronger and would have committed the Chamber to some measure of cancellation rather than to a re-study of the issue. But even as it stands the resolution is significant. It may well be that this conference will represent a turning of the tide in the matter of public opinion on reparations, for it proves that when business men review the facts they are forced to conclude that both tariffs and reparations are among the most potent causes of the present world depression. And they come to this conclusion regardless of national perspectives and loyalties.

Perhaps it is not too much to hope that the pressure of business opinion will grow so strong that politicians will be forced to heed it. They heed business opinion rather more quickly on other issues than on this one. If they are slow in this matter it may be due to the fact that the man in the street is still a potent factor in our democracy, as long as his opinions have not been colored so that they will conform to the prejudices of the dominant groups. Unfortunately, on international relations the average citizen is ignorant and parochial; and the commercial groups have awakened too late to the peril of tariffs and reparations to have had time to instruct him through the instrumentality of their newspapers. We do not expect consistently radical influence from the International Chamber of Commerce, but where it is in such obvious conformity with the needs of world peace we welcome it. We hope that since most of the organs of public opinion can be influenced by the dominant commercial and industrial group, some haste will be made in bringing editors, readers, and politicians into line.

Manufacturing Fear

Shortly before the reader's eyes fall upon these words, millions of listeners from coast to coast will hear a thrilling description of the bombardment of New York City from the sky. Not less than 670 planes are scheduled to participate in the air "games" on May 22nd. Thirty-six bombers, with a carrying capacity of 100,000 pounds of high explosives or poison gas bombs, will just before midnight converge upon Manhattan's theater district. Parachute flares with the brilliance of a million candle-power will illumine the scene. The moral will be drawn: "Unless the United States increases its air fleet, New York and other seaboard cities may be annihilated by enemies from the sky." Suspicions will be aroused and fears deepened. Military and naval appropriations will grow fatter and fatter if the purpose behind this display is achieved.

If the man in the street would only *think*, the demonstration would have exactly the opposite effect. He would realize that the weapons of war are now so devastating that they cannot possibly offer security. Within a decade every great nation will number its airplanes by hundreds of thousands and will have at its disposal almost unlimited quantities of deadly poisons. Unless humanity conducts itself as a raving maniac, it will not let loose these demons of annihilation. Why, therefore, should we bankrupt our treasuries in preparing a system of armed defense which cannot be used on a great scale without undermining the very foundations of civilization? Why not put our trust in a peace system and rely exclusively upon international agencies of justice for the settlement of all controversies with other nations?

Student Radicalism

Another welcome evidence of the progressive-radical trend in student thought is the recently published pamphlet "Toward a New Economic Society," by the economics commission of the Council of Christian Associations, the organization uniting the student divisions of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. The pamphlet, which is the result of two years of study by a commission under the chairmanship of Francis Henson, deals intelligently and realistically with such problems as the ethics of income and expenditure, the relation of students to industry, and the possibility of expressing Christian ideals in terms of the problems of our economic society. Under this latter topic the commission states its conviction that the Christian ethic demands the formation of a new political party which will stand for unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, higher inheritance, income and excess profit taxes, as well as the social ownership of natural resources and public utilities.

This essentially socialistic program, coming from a religious organization, created considerable stir in the public press and prompted its disavowal on the part of the national officers of both the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. This disavowal was fair enough, for no one supposes that the Christian Associations are socialistic in their general convictions. Nevertheless it is significant that student religious opinion should express itself in so unmistakably collectivist ideas when it tries to articulate Christian ethical ideals in economic and political terms. The real fact is that, by and large, religious organizations on the college campus are more radical or as radical as any student group. That is an encouraging fact for those who believe that religion can be a resource in modern life.

Wage Reductions

Statistics on women's wages gathered by the New York State Employment Bureau add to the steadily mounting evidence that, in spite of official statements to the contrary, there has been a constant tendency toward lower wages since the stock market crash in 1929. According to the New York figures wages for typists dropped from \$15-\$22 per week to \$12-\$21 per week. The weekly wage of expert stenographers dropped from \$35 to \$20; bookkeepers from \$23 to \$15. The starting wage of telephone operators at private switchboards has been reduced from \$18 to \$15 per week. Cashiers in restaurants receive \$18 instead of \$23, while waitresses are now paid \$6 instead of the princely \$10 they once received. And so the dismal story continues.

Henry Ford congratulates the workers upon being able to buy from 50 to 75 per cent more for their money than before the depression, implying that they

have entered a new paradise without recognizing the fact. Ford employes who have been on two and three-day-week schedules for many months must have received this reassuring information with great satisfaction.

The continuance of wage reductions, in spite of constant insistence by big business leaders that any lowering of the scale will imperil the return of prosperity, shows how impossible it is to maintain wages, by individual action. Each employer would like to see high wage rates in other plants in order to have a market for his goods, but he sees himself compelled to cut salaries in his own business or industry in order to meet the frantic competition of a post-depression period.

The fact that charity funds in most of our cities were exhausted by the middle of April, while the increase in business proved to be but a temporary spring flurry, already dissipated, means that there will be a great deal of suffering among the unemployed this summer and something rather too terrible to contemplate during the coming winter. Whether men are on a job or out of work, they have come upon evil times, and Mr. Ford's optimism is poor consolation for them.

Why Conscript Eleven Million Men?

On grounds of patriotism and common sense alike the War Department's recently announced plan to conscript men and materials is an utterly incredible document. One might easily assume that its authors had never heard of the Briand-Kellogg treaty and that they are entirely ignorant concerning the nature of modern warfare.

In spite of the fact that in solemn treaty the United States has renounced war as an instrument of national policy and has agreed never to seek the settlement of any dispute, whatever its origin or nature, except by pacific means, and the further fact that this Government has signed a network of conciliation and arbitration treaties with two-score other Powers—notwithstanding this legally and morally binding commitment to the processes of peace, General MacArthur, Chief of Staff, has announced a plan which under specified circumstances *calls for the conscription of eleven million men!*

For what purpose are these young citizens to be drafted? Self-defense? Against whom or what? If this Government observes its obligations and conducts its international relations in a friendly fashion, is there any evidence that our shores will be in danger of invasion? To envisage a situation which requires four million soldiers and other millions of drafted civilians to repel marauders bent upon pillage and destruction is a fantastic and highly dangerous procedure. There is, of course, a mathematical possibility that Canada may attack this country with

armed troops. But forts and armed battalions along our northern border would not constitute the surest defense against assault. By flights of imagination one can throw himself into a hysteria of alarm lest Great Britain or Japan or Russia land hostile troops on our soil. But it should be equally obvious that this remote contingency can be avoided in more effective ways than by threatening to draft eleven million men.

The truth is often admitted, however, that vast multitudes of armed conscripts are not really needed for the defense of our homeland, but for the protection of our national rights. Frequent reference is made to the enormous volume of our foreign trade, to the degree of our dependability upon many foreign commodities, and to possible controversies concerning interpretations of the freedom of the seas and the respective rights of neutrals and belligerents. It is high time that patriotic citizens realize clearly that the effort to uphold our point of view in such a quarrel by resort to war is absolutely illegal. Our Government has agreed never—never—never to seek the settlement of any dispute whatsoever by warlike means. Therefore any proposal to use drafted men as a method of maintaining our rights in an international controversy is unlawful and unpatriotic.

Furthermore, the projection of war plans on such a gigantic scale causes one to wonder if military and naval officials have really grasped the nature of modern warfare. It was the present occupant of the White House who some years ago expressed the opinion that the next great war will be "the cemetery of civilization." Three factors combine to make clear the inescapable truth of this prophecy: the terrible toll of life and property that would be taken by the diabolically improved weapons of combat; the harvest of devastation that would be wrought by malnutrition and starvation due to the disruption and dislocation of the means of production and distribution in an intricately interdependent industrial society; and the almost certain probability that under such circumstances violent class war would break out in numerous regions of the earth. The officials of state who sign declarations of war in another world conflict will sign the doom of our civilization.

With abundant reason, therefore, does the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America view the War Department's draft measure "as fraught with grave danger to our country." Now is the time for patriotic citizens to protest against this proposal to take illegal action in seeking to maintain our rights, for parents to register emphatic opinions as to the madness of sending their children down the road that leads to suicide, and for loyal citizens to announce their unqualified refusal to support a system of armed defense which cannot be used on a great scale without immeasurable and irreparable loss in

terms of human life, property, morality, and religion. Letters, telegrams, resolutions, and petitions should descend as a flood upon the President, the Secretary of State, and members of Congress!

Military Insurance

Because the United States is the richest nation in the world, military and naval insurance, we are told, is necessary. Our total national wealth amounts to more than 350 billion dollars and the annual turnover of our exports and imports reaches nearly ten billions. Without the skeleton of a big army and a navy equal to that of any other power, we would be unable to protect our wealth, the argument runs.

How much validity does this contention possess? Does anyone seriously maintain that it is the strength of our armed forces that prevents the British or German or Japanese people from invading our shores and looting our possessions? The idea borders on hysteria and is the product of preparedness propaganda. Do we need a big navy to protect our property in other lands and to maintain our rights on the high seas? What would happen if we, like Holland, Denmark, and certain other trading powers, relied solely upon diplomacy, arbitration, and international coöperation for the preservation of our wealth abroad and on the ocean? Would the damage sustained under such circumstances, equal the amount paid as premium on our military and naval insurance policy?

A study in the relevant statistics is illuminating. A few days ago President Hoover published the estimates of Federal expenditures for the fiscal year 1932. The total estimate for the army and navy approximates 740 million dollars. At this rate, we are spending more than seven billion dollars per decade as armed insurance. Are we getting our money's worth? Does any sane person believe that other nations would destroy American property to the extent of 7,000 million dollars in ten years if it were not for our armed strength? The property of only a small fraction of our citizens would be jeopardized in any case, while all Federal tax-payers are called upon for the premium money.

But the figures are even more overwhelming! Expenses for 1932 arising out of the war system and the effort to uphold our rights by armaments will total more than two and one-half billion dollars. If maintained, this rate would call for 25 billion dollars—25,000 millions—for a ten-year period. As a matter of fact, the effort to protect American property and lives in 1917 and 1918 by armed force has *already* cost the people of this country 100,000 lives and 35 billion dollars, according to one of Secretary Mellon's reports. If no armed force had been used, would the damage in terms of life and property have equalled these figures? Insurance? How come?

Justice in Alabama

Eight Negro boys, the youngest 14 years, are awaiting execution in Alabama for raping two white girls who were fellow passengers on a freight car. The accusation was made by a group of white boys who had had an altercation with their Negro companions before they left the car. The fact that the colored boys did not leave the place of the alleged crime creates a strong presumption of innocence. The trial was held under conditions of hysteria, and when the first conviction was announced the village band was called out to celebrate. Scottsboro, Alabama, prides itself on having avoided a lynching, but this kind of legal lynching has little to commend it as an alternative to the more honest kind of extra-legal violence. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is making every effort to secure a new trial for the boys under more favorable circumstances.

Educators Repudiate Forced Drill

On two successive days recently the faculties of both Cornell University and Ohio State University voted against compulsory military training. However, the trustees in each institution have final authority to decide whether or not the faculty recommendations shall be followed. In both these instances we have test cases of the highest importance for they will show whether educational policy at a crucial point is to be determined by the teaching staff or by the trustees. The decision of a year ago by the Attorney General of the United States that the 48 "land grant" colleges of the different States are not required to make military training compulsory, so far as their obligations to the Federal Government are concerned, puts the issue squarely into the class of educational problems. The trustees cannot say that legal, moral, or financial obligations stand in the way of what their faculties have declared to be educationally advisable.

The Cornell vote was 81 to 38 in favor of eliminating the compulsory feature from military courses beginning with the college year 1932-1933, or as soon thereafter as possible. Preceding the vote an illuminating report concerning the various factors involved was presented by a faculty committee. It seemed advisable in this particular case to refrain from public agitation. The document itself proved to be convincing. With 1850 students required to take drill, and 290 advanced corps students, Cornell's R. O. T. C. ranks fifth among the colleges and universities. It has 42 officers and army men detailed and paid for by the Department of War.

Ohio State University has the largest R. O. T. C. unit in the country, with 3,380 students in compulsory drill and 356 in optional advanced courses. To train Ohio students in the war business, the War Department expended \$208,326.66 last year and detailed

52 instructors. The faculty vote here—83 to 79—was much closer than at Cornell. It was precipitated by a student petition which declared that "it is inconsistent with the spirit of the Kellogg Pact for our State University to compel students to think and train for war", that "no course should be made compulsory when there is so much objection by leading educational authorities to its validity," and that the movement for world disarmament and peace is calling now for "disarmament in education."

At Six Dollars Per Plate

We rise to protest against a six-dollar-per-plate testimonial dinner in honor of Gandhi. We yield to none in our admiration of and devotion to the Mahatma, but we believe it is utterly inappropriate for the Indian National Congress of America to stage an expensive banquet at the Hotel Astor in New York City in his honor. The conclusion that the Spinner of Sabarmati would himself be greatly pained by this ostentation seems inescapable in view of his vow of poverty and the extreme simplicity of his habits.

We are reminded of the occasion when, in response to an address of welcome by an Indian official, Mr. Gandhi said: "I notice that the chairman failed to make any reference to my activities in behalf of the untouchables. Any community that is not in sympathy with my work for the outcasts ought not to give me a reception." And with these words India's saint ended his address of two sentences. What he would say to his compatriots who are arranging this luxurious meal may well be imagined!

And while we are on the subject, we should like to urge officials of religious and social service organizations to probe into the ethical significance of arranging three to five-dollar banquets in a world of hungry and undernourished millions. Recently we were "honored" with an invitation to dine at seven fifty per plate!

Not Just Another Petition

Most of us these days are called upon to endorse so many causes, important, unimportant, and so-so, that we are likely to view any endeavor to secure signatures as "just another petition." In order to avoid this pitfall, the W.I.L. has decided to dramatize its disarmament campaign into a "Transcontinental Caravan." Starting from Los Angeles during the League's convention, June 17, the Caravan will cover every city of importance between the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. It is proposed on this cross-country trek to roll up a million signatures on the Disarmament Petition and to present them to the President in October. The W.I.L. hopes in this way to mobilize public opinion in support of the Geneva Conference and to impress upon President Hoover the need for sending peace-minded delegates to Europe. The petition is an excellent gesture and should be prosecuted vigorously.

Spain Will Make Good*

DEVERE ALLEN

SPANIARDS are proud of their revolution. They have a right to be. *La Voz*, a leading evening paper of Madrid, two days after the departure of the King, carried a triple cartoon which is a reflection of Spanish public opinion. In one picture is shown the French Revolution with its slaughter, hatred, and irresponsible, murderous mobs. In another is depicted the Russian Revolution with its vastly greater discipline but its shootings and its terror. And in the last are portrayed the huge crowds of Spanish workers parading through the streets of their capital on April fourteenth, bearing aloft their victorious banners, climbing to the top of cars and buses, singing their revolutionary chants, but wreaking vengeance on no one.

Nothing in my experience has so completely upset my preconceptions, so disrespectfully brushed aside my generalizations about human behavior. There may be a real pacifist in Spain, but I doubt it very much. The whole history of the country has been a tale of civil war, intermingled with outrage and intrigue and despicable conflict. Only a hundred years ago, or thereabouts, the very streets along which peaceable demonstrators marched steadily for three days and nights in April, ran with the blood of the massacred Madrileños, caught between traitorous Spanish leaders and ruthless conquerors from France. And while it is fashionable to pay tribute to the patriotism of Alfonso in relinquishing the throne and thus saving his country from bloodshed, the truth is that he seriously pondered unloosing heavy artillery to disperse the crowds and, after that, imprisoning every leader of the republican opposition. Some shooting was actually done on the eve of his decision; but it was done by the monarchist troops, not by the revolutionaries. For two days, before the election returns convinced him that his cause was lost, Alfonso's minions swept into crowds of students and workers with drawn swords swinging wildly, with rubber truncheons busy, and with pistols in hand for instant action. And yet, in the face of all this, in the teeth of a government whose willingness to bite had long since been amply indicated, a non-pacifist people, led by men who have hardly given a thought to pacifism as we think of it in the United States or as it has grown so potent in England, conducted one of the greatest overturns of history with almost perfect self-control, with marvellous democratic solidarity, with passion entirely devoid of violence.

For weeks, even up to within a month of the elections, the most active leaders of the anti-monarchist forces were in prison. Two of them, after the uprising at Jaca last December, had been summarily executed. Others had narrowly escaped the same end. A prominent Socialist, now in the Cabinet, told me on Monday afternoon, twenty-four hours before the proclamation of the Republic, that he would not be a bit surprised if nightfall found him, with all his fellows, behind the bars. Fear, that guarantor of violence, for once exerted little power. These leaders had every provocation; while they had scored heavily in the voting and shown their strength, what they were up against was a combination of militarism, clericalism, and a mystical sense of divine right, all entrenched in economic privilege. But no word of hate was uttered, no counsel of violence was given. On the contrary, their watchwords were solidarity, discipline, self-control, courage, capacity for suffering, and—as a trump card—the general strike of the workers. Even the December revolutionary movement, which ended in confusion and a short-lived triumph for the monarchy, was organized and its statement of principles formulated and signed, not by military men, as in all previous revolts, but entirely by civilians. And it is worthy of note that in the present Cabinet, there is not a single military leader.

ONE of the earliest acts of the new Ministry, determined to root out the intrigue and political machinations which have centered in the monarchy ever since Alfonso insisted on rebuilding the military schools, was the closing of these self-same institutions as soon as the present students graduate. Every officer in Spain—which has one general to each eight hundred and fifty men or so and one officer to every ten privates—has been offered a chance to retire on full pay. Thus bitterness at being dispossessed of a professional income has been eliminated, while the cost of this subvention is met by the savings from army reduction and curtailment of military functions. There will be an army, of course; not only have the revolutionary leaders in Spain depended upon rebellious military leaders and men, but they believe in the necessity of a small standing force. Nevertheless, Spain, which by nature's isolation from European problems and the disintegration of its oldtime empire has little thought of external conflict, has a fine chance to see what can be done about disarmament when all the rest of the world chatters about it and does nothing.

* Editors' Note: This article was written in Spain during the early days of the revolution.

But in Spain, such will-to-peace as exists—and it certainly does exist—has not grown up as in many other countries. The prevailing religion has, of course, been Roman Catholicism, and until now the Church was official. Protestant churches have been scant, ill-nourished, and timid. Nothing akin to that fine development of Catholic pacifism in Germany, for example, has ever manifested itself in Spain. I found it impossible to discover more than a few meager contacts with people avowedly interested in peace movements. The truth is, the rebels in Spain have had no time and little inclination to probe the ideology of the peace movement anywhere, though some of them during the World War showed great sympathy for the conscientious objectors in warring lands. Yet these are the people who can go through one of the greatest overturns of history in a marvelous self-control; who can organize a parade of Socialists a mile and a half long to honor the founder of the Socialist Party, Pablo Iglésias, and carry it off without a single untoward incident or discourtesy, conservative reporters agreeing that no hostile demonstration was made even as the marchers went past the house of that Minister in Alfonso's Cabinet who had wanted to use artillery to clean up the revolution!

It is not merely that Spain has consistently been misreported in the press, or that she has come to adopt a fictional rôle which has placed upon her a fallacious label. Nor is it untrue that the country still seethes in many quarters with turbulent elements which, though small in numbers, are eager for the advancement of their special hobbies at almost any cost. It is, chiefly, that in Spain the Socialist movement had come to contain within itself a large number of idealistic leaders, who had educated their following in ideals, and who had emphasized for years the tactics of labor solidarity. The labor movement was a religion of itself, demanding sacrifice and risk and sometimes, as abundantly demonstrated, even life of its devotees.

NOWHERE on this earth was there ever a more brilliant job of organizing an electorate put through than in Spain on the twelfth of April, 1931. By half past ten in the morning, almost all the votes in many districts had been cast, though the polls did not close until four o'clock. At every voting-place Republican and Socialist watchers were established, numbering two thousand in Madrid alone, a city of 800,000. But behind all this were years of constant, laborious effort. Socialist locals, in particular, had been centers of education around which rallied the great trade union bodies. The Socialist Party contains only some 15,000 dues-paying members; but it is, none the less, a center of political activity for the two hundred thousand or more trade unionists. More than two hundred trade union centers exist through-

out the country, and in some of these forums have been conducted, and, not least interesting, regular instruction has been given to wipe out the disgraceful illiteracy cursing Spain for generations. And, quite the opposite from the United States, Socialists and trade unionists, though not always agreeing on important details, have coöperated whole-heartedly and moved forward as one great phalanx.

When the decision was made this spring to bring the Socialist Party into temporary collaboration with the Republicans (who are often business men and middle-class liberals), so drastic a departure did it appear from orthodoxy that such respected leaders in the Party as Professor Besteiro, its chief, and Señor Saborit, its secretary, refused to accept responsibility and resigned from the Party's Executive. But they did not resign from the Party, nor did they sabotage the campaign; instead they publicly announced their determination to stand by the majority decision and even ran for office in the elections. This is a sample of how these "individualistic, hopelessly uncoöperative Spaniards," as they have been called, can rally around a common principle.

ANOTHER thing is impressive, and that is the ascendancy of principle among the masses. They did not get this out of thin air; it had been harped on by Socialist and anti-monarchist orators for a long period. Yet for many years the *cacique*, or local political boss, ready to spend freely when necessary, was the mainstay of the monarchists. Alfonso's supporters counted on these bosses again, and kept them liberally supplied with funds. Votes in countless Spanish towns had before been cheaper, if anything, than in American municipalities of fifty years ago. But every single observer with whom I talked in Madrid and Zaragoza and Barcelona was astounded at the accumulation of evidence that few votes anywhere were for sale; in certain notorious towns of Andalusia, for example, reports came in to gratified anti-monarchist headquarters that votes which could formerly be had for ten *pesetas* could not now be purchased for a hundred; and there were numerous touching scenes where hungry peasants—there has recently been serious unemployment on the farms and in the small communities—admitted their hunger to their would-be bribers but still refused to sell out their beloved republic.

Every kind of wedge that could be driven between the anti-monarchist elements has been seized and plied by the King's defenders, but all with no avail. Royalist papers and speakers grew satirical about the alliance of the Socialists and the "bourgeois" Republicans; but they overlooked the stress which had taught forbearance and which had enabled the rebellious groups to learn each other's sincerity. As a matter of fact, the very Republican middle-class lead-

ers, like Zamora and his Republican confrères in the Cabinet, would be branded as wild radicals in the United States, and they hold many Socialist notions which would make that champion of progressive politics, Franklin D. Roosevelt, being so assiduously groomed to catch liberal suckers in the 1932 campaign, look like a Victorian mossback. And despite their honest and fundamental differences, the Republican-Socialist coalition will hold together, I unhesitatingly predict, as long as may be needed, following which, quite properly, they will separate each to fight respectfully for its basic ideas.

Likewise with the separatist provinces. Señor Cambo, who once essayed the rôle of capitalist-monarchist savior of Catalonia, is today a nobody. And if Colonel Macia, President of the Catalan Republic (now the "Generalidad" of Catalonia), is not the least obstreperous of individuals, he is showing a realistic economic grasp of the situation and is already having to tame down his nationalistic following toward full coöperation with the larger Spanish Republic. Unamuno, who was looked on by his fellow-Basques as a possible leader in a struggle for complete autonomy, has accepted a post as head of the Spanish Council of Education. Everywhere, at the spots toward which the eyes of pessimists and the fingers of monarchists have consistently been directed for decades, coöperation is succeeding separatism and unity is being achieved.

Even here, the main urge to union comes from the working classes. The clever intellectuals, who have often disagreed, are splendidly submerging their prepossessions under the impulse of the crisis; but the labor unions have throughout held to the ideal of proletarian solidarity. Speaking for the Labor Federation, *Workers' Solidarity*, one of their important papers, said about two weeks after the revolution:

The Catalan people will never permit boundaries and frontiers to be set between them and their brethren in the other regions. The workers of Catalonia, in particular, will never consent to the erection of political barriers separating them from the proletariat of Spain. The National Confederation will energetically oppose this division of Spanish workers.

FROM the very first of the revolution, which I witnessed at Jaca, Madrid, and several other cities, and lived through for six thrilling days and nights in the Puerta del Sol, the heart of Madrid's excitement, I kept looking for the flaw in this flawless miracle. Neither an optimist nor a pessimist, I was convinced that it could not be true! And I confess that I fully anticipate trouble in the future for the new Republic. Violence, in the name of "self-defense" is still implicit and explicit in the philosophy of the people; the short-sight that precipitated the futile military *coup* at Jaca last December may very easily develop into violent outbreaks over pettier divisions

as the common foe, the monarchy, disappears into the past. I make no concessions from my pacifist opinion. It will be necessary, within a reasonable time, for every peace group in the world which has something to offer to the Spanish people and something also to learn from them to enter Spain with the definite purpose of building up contacts and continuing relations.

Nevertheless, one thing is clear. Spain more than any other country and the Spanish revolution more than any other great event of our times point to the inescapable conclusion that religious pacifism of itself alone, as ordinarily defined, and the conscientious refusal to participate in war, represent only a part of the whole approach required of pacifists in our generation. The pacifist who abandons war and throws himself into work for peace is a worthy figure. But the pacifist who wants to count as fully as he may against warfare and violence must do more than this. He must ally himself openly, zestfully, with the great world movement for economic change, seeking frankly to bend it away from the violent views which still cling to it as an inheritance from a treacherous history, but aiding in the building up everywhere of disciplined working-class bodies for the overthrow of privilege. For in the combination of non-violent principle with revolutionary aims is a power that can shake thrones and systems, and equally hold men's minds to the creation of new worlds.

Song of the Builders

CITY of upreaching towers,
Lifting proud hands to the sky,
Vaunting your infinite powers,
We are the men who die.

City with windows of light,
Thousands of eyes that see,
We enter the shadows of night,
That you in your glory may be.

You are the bone of our bone,
Bound with our sinews of steel;
Our blood embodied in stone;
Flesh tried in fevered ordeal.

Our hands gave you infinite powers;
Our brains endowed you with might;
Our dreams live on in your towers;
Our eyes are your windows of light.

Speak then, O City, and cry
To the earth and the sky and the sea,
Though we are the men who die,
We challenge Eternity.

MILDRED FERGUSON COUSENS

Can the Church Stop War?

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK *

A REVOLUTION has been required in order to make it possible for me to stand at a pacifist meeting like this, feeling that I belong here. I was brought up in the shadow of the Civil War. My grandfather had been the last station on the underground railroad helping escaped Negroes across the Niagara River to liberty in Canada; and our family were deeply imbued with the passions and enthusiasms of the war.

I received military training in my youth. I never dreamed of such a thing as a warless world either as a fact or an ideal. I can recall applauding Judge Tourget in a public session at the high school when one morning, with resounding phrases, he told us two things: first, that civilization was founded on the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, and, second, that we ought to have a war once every thirty years for the moral tone of the nation. I saw nothing contradictory in those two things and loudly applauded. I have had to go through a complete revolution from that old ethical and psychological attitude in order to stand where I now do, and it took the tragic experiences of the great war to complete the process. . . .

The church alone cannot stop war, even if the church in spirit were fitted for the task, for the same reason that America alone cannot stop war, nor any other single unit in this complex world situation. The achievement of world peace and the ending of war is a coöperative, international undertaking. If war is to be stopped, it will be because the world as a whole has determined to stop it together.

Especially in a group where pacifist principles are far to the front, this fact, even though briefly may well be stated first, because there is always danger that we who in any degree deserve to be called pacifists may become individualists too, contenting ourselves with the personal renunciation of war and

all its works. Individualism in the peace movement, by itself, means the defeat of the movement. The achievement of international security on a basis of peace instead of war is the most stupendous undertaking in social engineering that mankind has ever put its hands to. . . .

WE, as a race, face our fate together. If we are going to have war, we are going to have it together. If we are going to have peace, we are going to have it together. So if you ask me what aspect of the peace movement I am primarily interested in, I answer without hesitation: the messy, difficult, baffling, disillusioning, but absolutely indispensable task of building world organizations that represent security on a basis of peace, notably the League of Nations, the World Court, and the implementing through disarmament treaties of the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

If someone says then, "How can the church stop war?" I say quite candidly that I am not certain the church can stop war; but what I am sure of is that without the church we cannot stop war. If we cannot align

the Christians of the churches in favor of peace, we cannot align the rest of the world.

In particular, the churches of America have a weighty responsibility and opportunity. For what nation is it that is out of the League of Nations? The United States. What nation is holding back from the World Court with a fearful reluctance that is nothing less than a public disgrace? The United States. What nation is it that notably this last year passed a tariff bill erecting new barriers to make even more difficult its own and the world's economic situation—a bill that seems to me one of the most stupid and vicious ever passed? The United States. What nation is it that in 1890 paid for its army \$36,500,000 and in 1931 appropriated for its army \$351,000,000; that spent on its navy, in 1890, \$21,000,000 and appropriated for its navy, in 1931, over \$380,000,000? It is the United States.

And at the heart of the United States are churches with a membership of 40 million. Unless we do something revolutionary with them, we cannot stop war.

"I hate war. I hate war because I have seen it. I hate war for what it does to our own men. I have seen them come in freshly gassed from the front line trenches. I have watched the long, long trains loaded with their mutilated bodies. I have heard the raving of those that were crazed and the cries of those who wanted to die and could not. I hate war for what it forces us to do to our enemies, slaying their children with our blockades, bombing their mothers in their villages, and laughing at our breakfast tables over our coffee cups at every damnable and devilish thing we have been able to do to them. I hate war for its consequences, for the lies it lives on and propagates, for the undying hatreds it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in the place of democracies, and for the starvation that stalks after it. I hate war, and never again will I sanction or support another!"

* Editors' Note: The articles by Dr. Fosdick, Mrs. Catt, and Dr. Holmes are taken from manuscripts of addresses delivered at The World Tomorrow Semi-Annual Dinner in New York City on April 24th.

IN the first place, I have hope that the church may serve the interests of peace as an educational agency. Many people today habitually speak of the church as though it were negligible; but I note that whenever a great public cause wants to get the ear of the nation it always tries to get its hands on the church. There is nothing that the militaristic elements in this country would like better than to capture the churches just as they are trying to do in the case of the schools. The churches are not so unimportant as they are sometimes made out to be. They reach too many millions of people to be negligible.

I feel encouraged by the results of this questionnaire for it reveals a slow but steady swing of opinion on the part of our more forward-looking ministers to an ever-clearer understanding of what is involved in the issue of peace against war. . . .

In the second place, it seems clear that we can expect on the part of Christians in general and of this new breed of ministers in particular a new clarity of recognition that the very gospel which they preach is at stake in the peace movement. My deep conviction is that the greatest single rival Christianity has on earth today is a narrow, militaristic nationalism. The real conflict is not Christianity against Buddhism, Christianity against Islam, Christianity against Confucianism; it is Christianity against a narrow, nationalistic militarism.

The three items in the dogma of militaristic nationalism are: first, that each nation is a sovereign unit, acknowledging no control beyond its independent will. If it serves the interests of a nation to fight, that nation is free to make war because it is a sovereign unit competing with other sovereign units and ready at any time to battle for its supremacy.

The second item in the dogma of militarist nationalism is that each sovereign unit within its own borders has an almost absolute authority over its citizens. We as citizens must be ready at any time to sacrifice to the national will our lives, our fortunes, our sons and daughters, and our opinions. Especially in war time, the nation will conscript our money, our business, our food, our families, our consciences.

The third item in the dogma of militaristic nationalism is that in some regard congenial to its pride each nation is supreme. . . . If there were time, one could trace the history of that dogma and unravel the strands that have been braided in its development. As we know it now, it came from the eighteenth century onward. But that it is dominant in our day who can doubt?

Our children's children will look back on this time as the era of nationalism, just as we look back upon an earlier time as the era of feudalism; and they will recognize, even if we do not, that Christianity's most

crucial conflict was with the sinister meanings of this dogma. For if this dogma of militaristic nationalism wins the field, the consequence is inevitable that ever and again this nation will conscript its Christians, and that nation will conscript its Christians, and the two nations will hurl their Christians at each other's throats, and those Christians will sink each other's ships, starve each other's children, slaughter each other's women, poison each other with gas, and slay each other with pestilence. Can any man suppose that there is any such thing as accommodation or compromise between the dogma of nationalistic militarism and the spirit of Christ?

IN the third place, I think we have a right to expect an increasing number of individual Christians who are determined that never again will they sanction or support a war. After all, when the church has once been awakened, it always has shown an extraordinary ability to feel indignation against a public evil.

I hate war. I hate war because I have seen it. I hate war for what it does to our own men. I have seen them come in freshly gassed from the front line trenches. I have watched the long, long trains loaded with their mutilated bodies. I have heard the raving of those that were crazed and the cries of those who wanted to die and could not. I hate war for what it forces us to do to our enemies, slaying their children with our blockades, bombing their mothers in their villages, and laughing at our breakfast tables over our coffee cups at every damnable and devilish thing we have been able to do to them. I hate war for its consequences, for the lies it lives on and propagates, for the undying hatreds it arouses, for the dictatorships it puts in the place of democracies, and for the starvation that stalks after it. I hate war, and never again will I sanction or support another!

There are few tragedies in a man's life more difficult to bear than a conflict between two great loyalties—love of country and love of Christ. If it be possible, let this cup pass from me. I am a patriot. I love this country. From the earliest days, in Massachusetts, my forbears have wrought their lives into her life. I am a patriot, and I am a Christian; I have sworn allegiance to Jesus Christ. I should love to be both. But, if my nation forces me to choose, then I will be Christian. And because I see that if the war system lasts, my nation will be compelled to force me to choose, there is nothing I care more for than the ending of the war system.

I call to witness on this point a great soldier. Listen to him. "The business of the churches is to make my business impossible." Who said that—a pacifist, a disloyal man? No. Field Marshal Haig, with the straightforward candor of a soldier saying what he thinks: "It is the business of the churches to make my business impossible." So may God help!

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

EVERY student of war should have a garden, and in that garden he should mark off a square yard or two and transform it into a war laboratory. He will need a little knowledge of chemistry and poisons and of the queer behaviorism of insects, and he should provide himself with a few armaments such as trowels and spades. As soon as he goes to work, directly the cause, the cure, and all the mystery of war will be spread out before him.

Last year we had a great drought, and in the month of August in our part of the country every lawn was splotted with dead and dying grass. We tore that grass from the lawn and when we dug deeper, we found uncountable numbers of grubs—big fat ones with huge mandibles. They had destroyed the grass and there they lay in the earth beneath, arranged exactly like raisins in a Christmas pudding. We sent for an expert who pronounced those grubs "May beetles."

Learned professors in the universities have practically all come to the conclusion that one of the chief causes of war lies in the field of economics. They have written tons of books on the subject, and any one of us now can talk quite blithely about economic causes of war. The first interesting discovery we made about May beetles is that they, too, have their professors who know all about the economic causes of war!

These beetles have little measuring tapes, apparently. Every grub locates himself and then measures off in each direction a space of exactly four inches. He does not allow another grub to come within his territory. When one grub moves, they all move and go deeper down into the earth, each one keeping away from his neighbor by just four inches. Each grub knows the precise economic value of his four inches of territory and how much food and shelter it contains; that is, he knows how much he can eat within a given time.

Suppose that into that laboratory we had dropped a few Japanese beetles. The American inhabitants would promptly have chased the newcomers away, but had they failed to drive them out, a battle would have ensued and upon that battlefield there would have been many dead beetles—dead Americans and dead Japanese. The Americans are patriots and they are for the defense of the economic rights of their four inches square! . . .

ON the eve of the signature of the Paris Pact, Mr. Kellogg wrote: "I must not claim that treaties of arbitration and conciliation or even treaties explicitly renouncing war as an instrument of national policy afford a certain guarantee." A week before the signing of the Kellogg Pact, Monsieur Briand declared: "War is still a possibility, but it does not dominate the situation and the destiny of people as completely as it once did. The pact against war is merely a new ob-

stacle to the frightful calamity which is war." And Dr. Stresemann at the same time said: "But the conclusion of the pact of peace of the world has not been definitely consolidated."

Why are statesmen like these great men so timid? Why are they so uncertain about the result of that pact and about the result of all else that has been done for peace? Why do they hesitate? Why do they pause? Why do they not know what to do and how to do it?

Kirby Page's new book, *National Defense*, lays down six items in a program whereby national security may be obtained. I believe that program might be reduced to one item: Build up the agencies of peace and tear down the agencies of war. Men must think straighter. They must argue with more logic. They must search more diligently for justice and honesty. Somewhere in the midst of such thinking the agencies of peace will emerge. And behind those agencies there will be statesmen unafraid. During the war a colonel reported to Lord French: "We cannot hold out much longer; it is impossible." Lord French's reply was: "I only want men who can do the impossible. You must hold out." And the line held.

Next winter there is going to be a disarmament conference. There are a great many questions between now and then to be considered. The most important is this: We almost failed on two disarmament conferences—are we going to fail in the next? We must have men who will do the impossible at the coming Geneva gathering. We await their action.

When we have complete disarmament, it will be the first break in the agency of war, and we shall then have the courage and the conscience to build up the agencies of peace and to apologize for them no more.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

THE question is still a dubious one as to whether the church or any other organization or institution is going to be able to stop the progress of this devastating monster known as war. The statistics contained in the questionnaire presented by THE WORLD TOMORROW seem to offer some substantiation of that particular viewpoint. If the church is ever going to stop war, it must have the *mind* to do so—the whole mind, the persuaded mind, the convinced mind—without compromise or reservation. The statistics given in this particular questionnaire indicate, if you study them carefully, that the mind of the church is not yet made up and that all too large a proportion of those who are devoted to the interests of Christianity have not yet been awakened to the great cause of peace. . . .

The darkness of the horizon at the present time is very deep. I am inclined to believe that the prospects for a next war are little better today than were the prospects of the World War in the years 1911, 1912,

or 1913. I remember Mr. H. G. Wells's unforgettable statement that the destiny of civilization today constitutes a race between education and calamity. From our point of view, the fate of the world, so far as war is concerned, is a race between the mind of the church and the great forces—political, economic, social, national—which are now sweeping down like a whirlwind upon the organized institutions of society.

How much influence has the church actually got in the world in which we live? . . . Any sociologist will tell you that, compared with the newspaper, for example, the church is a minor and not a major influence. I believe we would all agree that if not today, then certainly tomorrow, the influence of the church as compared with the radio is negligible. What are we to think of the organized voice of Christianity in time of war as compared with the organized voice of government used through all the agencies of official propaganda? The church is still powerful but not in relation to those new agencies of public influence which are supreme today.

THERE is still another point of view to be considered in regard to the real influence of organized Christianity in our time. In his new book, *Revolution and Religion*, Paul Hutchinson points out that the whole world today to a greater or less extent is in the grip of revolution. In our country, exactly as in Russia, the disintegrating forces of society are loose; and those forces are not going to disappear until they have completed their work—religious revolution, social revolution, political revolution, economic revolution—not necessarily revolution in terms of violence, but revolution in terms of change and transformation, transfiguration of all of the influences and powers of organized society. Upon that thesis Mr. Hutchinson projects this momentous fact: that the church in every country to which he refers is allied with that particular small group of society which is either going to be destroyed or absorbed by the vast new social influences stirring in both East and West. . . . The church, in the first place, is too conservative in its very nature, says Mr. Hutchinson, take the lead in accomplishing any redemptive change for humankind; and, in the second place, the church is under obligation to the *status quo* and, therefore, cannot be expected to be an influence to remove evil and accomplish good.

Clearly the fight is not yet won, nor even very largely won. It is still pressing hard upon those of us who are interested in the institutions of religion, first, as I have said, because the mind of the church is not yet made up; and, second, because, even though that mind were clear and strong, there is a real question as to whether the church today actually possesses sufficient influence to command the forces of social reorganization.

However, I do not wish to emphasize exclusively the darker side of the picture. I believe that the hope of the world today is what the hope of the world has always been—not in organized institutions, but in little groups of dedicated men and women who give their lives to the service of their own vision of God's Kingdom. You will recall that the Bible says, "Put not your trust in princes." I would translate that into the statement: "Put not your trust in institutions." As I read the history of the Christian religion, I remember that there was a period when this religion was actually able to do things. That was in the days of early Christianity. No one who has read Lecky's immortal book, *The History of European Morals*, can ever forget his summary of what the Christian Church did in its first few centuries. What was that religion? Not a church, not an ecclesiastical organization at all; just little groups of poor, uninfluential men and women, meeting secretly in cities and villages throughout the length and breadth of that great power of militarism and nationalism, the Roman Empire. Yet Lecky reminds us that in the first three hundred and fifty years of its existence Christianity secured the emancipation of the Roman slaves, established the equality of women, and accomplished the complete suppression of the gladiatorial games. "These things," declares Lecky, in summing up this vast achievement, "constitute together a movement which has never been paralleled or approached in human history."

IF we analyze the early Christian Church before it became an institution at all, when it was simply an expression of the convictions of men and women whose hearts and minds were dedicated to the vision of the new world that was to come upon the earth, we will see that this movement was unworldly. Its followers had nothing to lose and, having nothing to lose, they were able to go into the fight with that recklessness and glad sense of adventure that comes to all who live the true life of the spirit. Secondly, these early Christians had a way of life which distinguished them from all other people in the empire. Today we may walk the highways and byways of the Christian world for years without ever discovering, from the lives they lead, whether the people we meet are Christians or not. But in those early days the Christians were disciplined to the service of the Christ, and if they did not walk in his way, they could not be members of his church. Finally, we must remember that those early Christians meant business. When an issue was presented to them, there was no hesitation or reluctance in answering, no balancing of *pro* and *con*. Their duty as clear as the noonday sun, they marched into the Colosseum to face the lions, they were led into the gardens of Nero to burn as torches that they might bear witness to the truth that was within them.

When we look at present-day religious institutions—the Christian Church or any other church—we find that these marks of consecration are not there, because they cannot be there. The organized church has lost the art of relying on the souls of men who have caught the vision and would follow it to the end.

When Professor Einstein was in this country he declared that if two per cent of the people of this nation and of other nations took an uncompromising position toward war, the fight would be won. As I recall it, we have a population of one hundred and twenty millions in the United States. Two-fifths of that number are grown men and women—forty-eight million. Two per cent of the forty-eight millions means only 960,000 adults. If Einstein is right, then we need to win less than a million men and women who have their minds made up on the question of war.

NUMBERS mean little, but the flame burning upon the altar of the human heart can scatter the darkness of the world. Consider what is being accomplished in India. We speak of Gandhi as the leader of more than three hundred millions of people. During the past year Gandhi has won the greatest triumph of the spirit known in human history. He has faced an empire and brought it to its knees. Yet, when you turn to India today and ask what were the forces behind Mahatma Gandhi, measured in terms of men and women, it is astonishing to recall these facts: that the number of those actually imprisoned was considerably under 100,000, while those taken to hospitals because of injuries and to graveyards because of death was only a little more than 100,000. In other words, the total number of men and women in India, out of a population of three hundred and twenty-five millions, who have "stood the gaff" and made the sacrifice and won the victory is about 200,000. Marshal a power like this in any nation, a power that will march into the trenches of death, to use the military expression—or, to refer to Christian symbolism, that will serve the cross of Christ instead of the sword of Caesar—and the fight will have been won.

For this reason I place my hope in little groups of men and women, inside the church and out, who have caught the vision and are serving the faith. Today in a vast age of imperialism—as in the ancient Roman era, another age of imperialism—we need a great Christian movement that will capture the spiritual imagination of mankind. That early Christian movement came out of the synagogues in the beginning. The new movement must come out of the synagogues and the churches together. And as the old movement destroyed the enormities of Rome, so the new movement may destroy that greatest enormity of our day—the institution of war.

Gandhi has taught me anew, as Jesus Christ taught

me years ago, that against the soul no weapons of the world can avail. Dedicate those souls, mobilize them for the great struggle, and all other powers will fall helpless before them.

Mahatma Gandhi

"But what went ye out for to see? A reed, shaken by the wind?"

THERE was this man;
Who strove to see
Truth, veiled within
Mortality.

His flesh he scorned,
And fleshly bonds;
Yet saw his brothers'
Bleeding wounds.

In love, he turned
His soul, to find
Freedom from pain
For humankind.

And found an Empire
In his path—
He seized a weapon—
Love, not wrath.

Even his enemies
He loved.
Stones, blows, nor jail,
His kindness moved.

The Empire rides
Its bloody way;
His Kingdom not
Of this brief day!

Love knows no bondage
Kings have thrown,
But claims the universe
Its own.

Across the world
Men watching wait
Before that humble
Home of fate,

Where Love is reigning
Over Power,
And coming into
Its own hour.

JEANNETTE TOMPKINS

Reverberations!

General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff, United States Army.

My predominant feeling with reference to the majority of the replies received by your paper from 19,372 clergymen is that of surprise. Surprise at the knowledge that so many of the clergymen of our country have placed themselves on record as repudiating in advance the constitutional obligations that will fall upon them equally with all other elements of our citizenship in supporting this country in case of need. To exercise privilege without assuming attendant responsibility and obligation is to occupy a position of license, a position apparently sought by men who do not hesitate to avail themselves of the privileges conferred by our democracy upon its citizens, but who in effect proclaim their willingness to see this nation perish rather than participate in its defense.

The question of war and peace is one that rests under our form of government, in Congress. In exercising this authority Congress voices the will of the majority, whose right to rule is the cornerstone upon which our governmental edifice is built. Under the Constitution, its pronouncement on such a question is final, and is obligatory upon every citizen of the United States. That men who wear the cloth of the church should openly defend repudiation of the laws of the land, with the necessary implications and ramifications arising from such a general attitude toward our statutes, seems almost unbelievable. It will certainly hearten every potential or actual criminal and malefactor who either has or contemplates breaking some other law. Anomalous as it seems, it apparently stamps the clergyman as a leading exponent of law violation at individual pleasure.

I am mindful of the right accorded every American citizen to endeavor by lawful means to secure such changes in the Constitution or statutes as he may desire. But to concede to him the right to defy existing law is to recognize a state of anarchy and the collapse of properly constituted authority. May I remark also that if we acknowledge the prerogative of the individual to disregard the obligations placed upon him by American citizenship, it seems only logical to ask him to forego all rights guaranteed by such citizenship.

It also surprises me that while apparently entering a plea for freedom of conscience, these clergymen are attempting to dictate to the consciences of those who honestly differ from them over questions of national defense. Their sentiments and implied efforts are injecting the church into the affairs of state and endangering the very principle that they claim to uphold. Perhaps the greatest privilege of our country, which indeed was the genius of its foundation, is religious freedom. Religious freedom, however, can exist only so long as government survives. To render our country helpless would invite destruction, not only of our political and economic freedom, but also of our religion.

Another surprise comes in the revelation that so many seem to be unfamiliar with the struggle of mankind for the free institutions that we enjoy. Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation, the rights of small nations, and other birthrights of this generation have been bought with the high price of human suffering and human sacrifice, much of it on the fields of battle.

I am surprised that men of clear and logical minds confuse

defensive warfare with the disease which it alone can cure when all other remedies have failed. Do they not know that police systems and armed national defense are the human agencies made necessary by the deep-seated disease of individual depravity, the menace of personal greed and hatred? Should not these clergymen turn their attention to the individual sinner and rid the country of crime rather than attack the national keepers of the peace, the most potent governmental agency yet devised for this very purpose? It is a distinct disappointment to know that men who are called to wield the sword of the spirit are deluded into believing that the mechanical expedient of disarming men will transform hatred into love, and selfishness into altruism.

May I also express surprise that some have lost sight of the fact that in none of our past wars have clergymen been required to bear arms, and that under the terms of the Geneva Convention, ratified by the United States in 1907 (Secs. 130 and 132), chaplains are non-combatants and not authorized to be armed. And if United States Army chaplains are ever guilty of using inflammatory propaganda, such activity is without warrant or authority by any statute or order ever promulgated in the history of the country.

Perhaps I should also remind them that under the terms of the League of Nations the United States would be required to maintain a standing army of at least a half million men in order to be able to carry out its mandates. I am curious to know how many of the clergymen who voted for the League have read the Articles and understand that under them the peace of the world is to be maintained in the last analysis, by armed military forces. It is difficult to reconcile the faith of these people in the efficacy of newly organized international agencies to keep the peace and enforce respect for international covenants with their self-confessed intention to violate the existing laws of their own long-established government.

A few questions occur to me that could appropriately be asked the clergymen who replied to your questionnaire. In stating that they were in favor of the United States taking the lead in reducing armament, even if compelled to make greater proportionate reductions than other countries might be willing to make, did they know that the existing total of our land forces, including Regular Army, National Guard, and Organized Reserves is about one-third of one percent of our population? Did they know that in other great countries, except Germany, whose army is limited by treaty, this ratio is from three to forty-five times as great? Did they know our total forces in actual size are exceeded by those of at least fifteen other nations, although in population we are exceeded only by Russia, China, and India? Finally, did they consider the words of Our Lord as given in the 21st verse of the 11th chapter of St. Luke: "When a strong man armed, keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace"?

In all modesty may I not say to the opponents of national defense that Our Lord, who preached the Sermon on the Mount, later in his career declared: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword." St. Matthew, 10th chapter, 34th verse. It is my humble belief that the religion which he came to establish is based upon sacrifice, and that men and women who follow in His train are called by it to the defense of certain priceless principles even at the cost

for their own lives. And I can think of no principles more high and holy than those for which our national sacrifices have been made in the past. History teaches us that religion and patriotism have always gone hand in hand, while atheism has invariably been accompanied by radicalism, communism, bolshevism, and other enemies of free government.

Have not those who oppose our modest and reasonable efforts for national defense miscalculated the temper and innate spirit of patriotism in the average American? The fact that our Citizens' Military Training Camps are over-subscribed long before the opening of the camps comforts me that patriotism is still a dominant power in our land. Any organization which opposes the defense of homeland and the principles hallowed by the blood of our ancestors, which sets up internationalism in the place of patriotism, which teaches the passive submission of right to the forces of the predatory strong, cannot prevail against the demonstrated staunchness of our population. I confidently believe that a red-blooded and virile humanity which loves peace devotedly, but is willing to die in the defense of the right, is Christian from center to circumference, and will continue to be dominant in the future as in the past.

Victor R. Stoner, Chaplain, United States Army.

The morning mail brought me the May issue of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*. I am sorry I cannot thank you for the magazine. Its contents indicate that its purpose is to further the propaganda of pacifists and bolsheviks. As an American citizen I believe both these movements are contrary to Americanism.

If this magazine was sent to me as an army chaplain, I feel that it is an insult in the light of the quotation featured in a box on page 152: "It is as impossible to identify the living Christ with the transactions of the battlefield as it is with the transactions of a speakeasy." If it was sent to me as a clergyman, I must tell you that I am a Catholic priest and my obligations as such are to carry the consolations of religion wherever they may be needed,

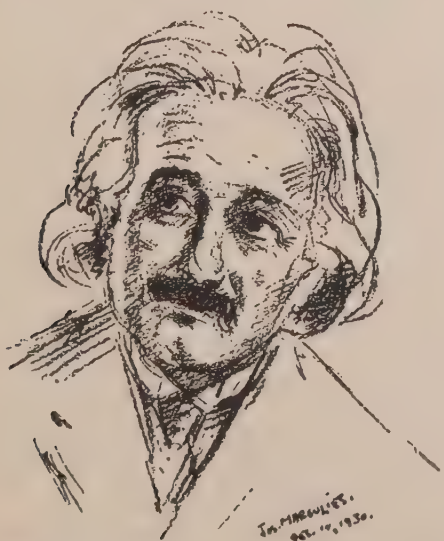
be that into a pest-ridden hut, a burning mine, or the field of battle. If it was sent me as an American citizen, you should know that an American considers it treasonable to refuse his entire aid to his country in time of need and therefore I cannot subscribe to the sentiment running through the magazine regarding the refusal of service. And I were only a decent pagan, I would resent the advertisement on page 175 regarding birth control clinics.

In case you do not take the hint, I'll tell you—please do not send me any more copies of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*; if this is the prospect for the world tomorrow, let's hope tomorrow never comes.

Frederick B. Fisher, Bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The most direct and encouraging example of the power of moral force is the Gandhi movement in India today. What gave that unique national revolution its enormous victory? Two things. First, the deep-seated belief in the inherited and developed doctrine of *harmlessness*. For two thousand three hundred years the Hindu millions had been nurtured in a theory of life that said, "I will not kill nor cripple any other living creature selfishly to benefit my own life." Priests, parents, and teachers taught this precept of *ahimsa* so consistently one generation after another that the whole nation held the theory sacred, even though many phases of organized practice consciously and unconsciously ignored it. Second, a man and a movement arose and released the smothered flame of that dynamic truth. Gandhi stirred the whole social body to aggressive action by his fiercely quiet sincerity. The fire of conviction burst forth and no external power could quench it.

Here is the experimental answer to our question. The Church can stop war. The centuries have planted in the heart of the Christian millions of Europe and America the peaceful doctrine of the Cross of Christ. However much society has violated the idealistic truth of the Sermon on the Mount and the life on the



IT is a gratifying revelation of the temper of the American clergy that 54 per cent of those who answered your questionnaire should have indicated their purpose not to participate in any future war. Only such a radical position can be of any help to the world, since the governments of each nation are bound to present every war as a war of defense.

It would be a very great help if an international organization of clergymen who refuse to participate in war could be formed. Considering the great moral influence of the United States in the world, I think an effort to form such an organization would be not at all hopeless and it might lead to results of historical significance to the honor of those who had initiated such a movement.

(Signed) ALBERT EINSTEIN

Cross, the principle is held deeply sacred. Some Garrison or Gandhi or group will call forth the smothered truth. Then will the fire of aggressive insistence spread across national boundaries with unquenchable power. The Church can and must awaken and release this Christian moral force. Spiritual boycott of war as a method, peaceful disobedience, moral non-cooperation, sustained goodwill, non-violent insistence on truth, may become the victorious symbols and slogans of a warless church. The courageous convictions expressed in the replies from nineteen thousand American clergymen reveal the vitality of our Christian deposit. When the depths are sufficiently stirred the awakening comes. The silent truth is finding its voice.

Wm. H. Kilpatrick, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Purposeful opposition to war stands as the significant lesson from your returns,—a purposeful opposition so new in degree as to constitute a fact new in kind. Through all the ages there has been widespread regret at war and sporadic proposal against it, but until now no widespread conscious purpose to oppose and end it. It is this purpose which is the significant fact from your figures, and the significance is increased as we note that where thinking has had the fairest chance, this new purpose seems exactly strongest. We have then the right to believe that this purposed opposition, better than any other existent attitude, points the path which history can be made to take.

Bradley A. Fiske, Rear Admiral, U. S. N., Retired.

My opinion may be briefly expressed by saying that their significance is about the same as would be the replies of those 19,000 clergymen to eight questions concerning proposed cures of cancer. As a fairly close student of the causes of war for many years, and of war *per se* for many more years, I feel convinced that such questions as the eight which you proposed cannot be answered wisely except by persons who have made careful studies of war, and have had great experience in practicing statesmanship and statesmanship's close ally, strategy.

My father and my uncle were Episcopal clergymen, and I was brought up in a religious atmosphere both at home and at the U. S. Naval Academy. So, I naturally appreciate highly the beneficent influence of clergymen in raising the thoughts of men and women to "higher things"; and I also realize that, by so doing, they influence them to resist "the love of money," which is "the root of all evil," and is especially the root of the evil of war. But the matter of preventing war *practically* is within the domain of statesmanship, not of religion. It belongs to the state, not the church. And it seems to me as clear as the noon-day sun that it is just as wrong for the church to meddle in affairs of state as for the state to meddle in affairs to church. The founders of our nation were clear in their determination to keep church and state separate.

Aside from these considerations of principle my studies have convinced me that the well-meant, but misguided, efforts of pacifists have (during all the history of our nation) done incalculable harm to the cause of peace. Theodore Roosevelt pointed out the danger to any nation (or man) that is "*opulent, aggressive and unarmed.*" And his formula as to how to keep out of war is (it seems to me) by far the simplest and best yet given to the world—"Speak softly, but carry a big stick."

Editorial, *Iowa Legionaire*, May 8, 1931.

Communists, hyphenates, peace-at-any-price pacifists, and other enemies here and enemies without are making much of the poll, but while it must cause many Americans deep concern it does not spell the nation's downfall. . . . The facts are that Page has cast a vicious slur on most of the American clergy for a large majority have always been loyal and would be if we should go to war today. If he could take a similar poll a week after Old Glory were fired upon that 54 per cent would shrink amazingly.

Editorial, *Commonweal*, April 29, 1931.

When uncompromising pacifism can be adopted by more than 10,000 Protestant clergymen it is evident that a problem of portentous gravity is developing. . . .

It would seem to us that this is a position impossible for the Catholic Church to assume; for that Church agrees with the common sense of mankind in holding that war is not always evil, and that a just war—such as one of defense against aggression—must be supported as a strict duty of citizenship.

A. Maude Royden, British Preacher and Lecturer.

I think from what I have seen of the work of the churches in America that they *could* stop war. I am not certain that they *would*. I don't think they realize how difficult it is to stand firm when all the rest of the world is going mad. It is so difficult that it is almost impossible. One begins to think with Pascal, that "madness is so common to mankind that not to be mad is a kind of madness." It takes a tremendous spiritual discipline to keep one untouched by the psychological condition of the great mass of the people. After the experience of 1914, our Government knows this and can count on it. How is it with you? Would those who signed against war—all war—in peace-time hold to it in the face of war?

If they would, I believe that they could stop war. They are an imposing list enough—but would they? Some of them would say "This war is different—we must support it." How many? If only a few, then the war could be stopped. Organized religion has far more power yet than most people realize.

John A. Ryan, National Catholic Welfare Conference

The replies to questions 5 and 6 respectively, contain one curious difference; that is, the majority that refuses personally to sanction or to participate in a future war is considerably less than the majority that is willing to have the churches go on record as refusing such sanction or support. More than fifteen hundred of those who want the churches to take this action are unwilling to take a similar attitude on their own responsibility. Had the questionnaire been addressed to Catholic clergymen and fetched the same proportion of replies, the great majority of the latter would, I think, have answered "No" to all four of these questions (No. 3-6). I am certain that more of them would have answered "Yes" to No. 6 than to No. 5. As is well known, the general Catholic position is that a war of self-defense can be justified under certain rigorous conditions. Since the Great War a few prominent Catholics, notably Father Stratmann, a German Dominican, have taken the position that in our time war between great nations cannot be justified because one of the required conditions cannot be realized. That condition is that the evil results of the war should not outweigh the good results.

The large proportion of replies which deny a distinction between defensive and aggressive war is surprising. Both the Cove-

From Coast to Coast

PUBLIC LEADER CHICAGO DAILY NEWS NEW YORK TIMES

PASTORS REJECT
WARS OF FUTURE

62 P. C. Reply to Queries
With Disapproval

10,000 MINISTERS OPPOSED TO ALL WARS

12,076 MINISTERS

ASK BAN ON WAR

Ministers and War
Editorials
The Churches and War

Should the Church
Oppose the Next War?

**ANTI-WAR VOTE
BY MINISTERS**

Feidick and Sackman Among
62 P. C. Urging Withholding
of Church Sanction

WOULD REFUSE
TO BLESS FIGHT

Nationwide Questionnaire
Brings Majority of Answer
Against Any War

10,427 CLERGYMEN WILL NOT
SANCTION WAR OF ANY KIND,
POLL OF 19,372 DISCLOSES

an Editorial

12,000 Clergymen Answer "Yes,"
The Church and War

All Wars Outlawed
By 10,000 Ministers

More Than 10,000 Say They
Can't Sanction Any
Kind of Conflict

STIRES OPPOSES ANY STAND

TIME
The Weekly Newsmagazine
The War on War

TOTAL OF 10,427
MINISTERS TAKE
STAND AGAINST
ANY FUTURE WAR

CLERGY AGREE
NOT TO FIGHT IN
ANOTHER WAR

MINISTERS GO
ON RECORD AS
FOES OF WAR

10,000 PROTESTANT CLERGYMEN
UNWILLING TO TAKE PART IN WAR

Questionnaire Reveals Strong
Opposition to Military
Training in Schools

CLERGYMEN
Assert Pacifist Views

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

Never Again, Says Pastor Who Saw Men Die

Oklahoma City Front Line Preacher, Who Urged Men to Go to War in 1917, Has Views Changed by
Grief of Youths for Their Mothers and God as They Are Cut Down

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

12,076 PASTORS URGE
CHURCH BAN ON WAR

Per Cent of
Preachers To Answer
Questionnaire

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

10,000 PROTESTANT
MINISTERS OF U. S.
AGAINST ALL WARS

Washington Post, CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER OUTLOOK and Independent

BOSTON HERALD Des Moines Register

nant of the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact assume that this distinction is valid and capable of definition. The belligerent activities of the United States in the Great War, whether wise or not, whether justified or unjustified, surely would not exemplify aggressive warfare. The worst that can be said about them is that they arose from a mistaken idea of the requirements of national defense.

Bruce Barton, Author and Publicist.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is doing a good work in stimulating the agitation against war. Preparation for war goes on continuously in every nation; agitation for peace is sporadic. It ought to be a part of the educational program of every nation, supported by continuous advertising. If the nations of the world would appropriate the cost of one battleship each year to be expended in international advertising it would go a long way toward persuading people that another war must never happen.

For few people realize that war as it used to be practised and war as it is waged today are two things which differ as greatly as a summer shower differs from a cyclone. In all the earlier ages war was a natural and comparatively harmless outlet for the adventurous energies of youth. The Thirty Years War was carried on in Europe for a whole generation, yet not many people knew about it. Some few young men were killed, more died of dysentery or chilblains, a little property was damaged. But the whole thing was a side-show. Business went on as usual. Washington marched and shot at the British for seven years. Numbers of men were injured and many others suffered in health. But he never had in the army at any one time a fifth as many young men

as you will find at a World Series ball game. War was more less romantic and not particularly serious.

But that sort of war has gone forever. Modern war is not romantic, not chivalrous, not even interesting. Pershing is just as romantic, and not a bit more so, than Henry Ford. Both are managers of big enterprises in mass production—Henry Ford making automobiles, and Pershing making mass destruction at long range. Another war would wipe out more people in a day than the Revolution killed in seven years. It would destroy everybody—men, women and children alike. It would devastate whole nations, and probably wreck civilization. It would be a monstrous crime. But, even worse, it would be silly.

People should be told these truths again and again. But they should be told them good-naturedly, dispassionately, in a spirit which will increase rather than decrease mankind's too slender supply of tolerance and open-mindedness. I believe that intemperate language and action have definitely hurt the cause of temperance and that intemperate and fanatical pronouncements, even when inspired by high motives, can hurt the cause of peace.

Harry Elmer Barnes, in the New York World-Telegram, April 24, 1931.

Just what these ministers will do in the "next war" one can hardly predict. But it is a fine thing to get them verbally on record for peace right now. The preachers seem to have learned more from the World War than statesmen or diplomats. I am not known as a slavish eulogist of the ministerial group, but I doubt that any other profession would today go on record so fully and forcefully for the liberal viewpoint in regard to war. They deserve our respect and support for their intelligent and courageous stand.

Bertrand Russell, Philosopher and Publicist.

THE WORLD TOMORROW has done valuable work in eliciting replies to eight questions on peace and war from 19,372 clergymen. The most hopeful are the answers to the first two questions, since they deal with matters in which the opinions of clergymen in time of peace may have some weight, namely, entry into the League of Nations, and military training in schools and colleges.

If the clergy should cause a cessation of the practice of training the young in homicide, they would be doing a very useful work. I do not think, however, that when war is actually occurring, a large percentage of these clergymen will remain pacifists. This may be inferred from their answer to the 8th question. According to this 43 per cent are willing to support a war of defence, and only 37 per cent are not. In the absence of an international judicial authority to pronounce on the matter, all wars are wars of defence on both sides. This was the case in 1914, not only rhetorically but actually. Everybody was fighting to defend his home, with the knowledge that if defeated, his country would be invaded. All students are now agreed that neither party was exclusively the aggressor.

We may therefore confidently assume that the 43 per cent who consider a war of defence justified, will be as patriotic in the next war as in the last, and of the 37 per cent who answer otherwise it must be assumed that a considerable proportion will fall victim to war hysteria. Methods of propaganda are continually being perfected, and it is therefore safe to assume that the atrocities attributed to the enemy in the next war will be even more shocking than those attributed to him in the late war. I think you should have asked another question, namely: in the event of a war occurring



Talburt in the N. Y. World-Telegram

The Sermon on the Mount

ing, will you accept the judgment of a previously existing international tribunal as to who is the aggressor? In that case, the distinction between a war of defence and a war of aggression might become clear.

Editorial, *Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Journal*, April, 1931.

It is a matter of great surprise to find so many supposedly intelligent American citizens willing to preach treason against their country by advising against national defense. It is interesting, if not pleasant, to contemplate the number of telegraph poles that would be adorned by white cravats, re-enforced by hempen neckties, should another war be declared—which, may heaven forbid—to test the "loyalty" of these anti-patriots. We have just passed through a spell of "loyalty" which does not appear to spell loyalty to this nation, notwithstanding the popularity of the slogan. The event of a war and the active participation of the clergy against national defense, to which so many have pledged themselves, would give us a brand new national sport: gunning for clergymen.

It is regrettable to read such replies from intelligent citizens at a time when wild men are threatening revolution because of temporary economic conditions, and the gaunt ghost of communism is stalking through the land; when the black-souled sons of Red Russia are threatening to overturn the greatest and justest government ever known on earth, and to destroy the priceless legacy left us by our noble Revolutionary sires.

The Christian Century, May 6, 1931.

If *The Christian Century* had been asked a week ago: How many Protestant ministers in the United States will stand up and say that they will never support or sanction another war? we would have answered: Perhaps 1,500 or 2,000 at the outside. But now comes the report of a questionnaire on this subject sent to 53,000 ministers, or over one-half of the Protestant clergy of the country, announcing that there are 10,427 ministers who absolutely reject war and would refuse personally to take part in any future war as combatants. . . .

The aspect of this exhibit which first impresses anyone who is at all sensitive to the personal circumstances of ministers is the almost unbelievable courage which lies behind these replies. Only brave men could take this stand. No question can be put to any public leader—in business, in politics, in education, in religion—which is so heavily loaded with danger to his practical interests and professional success as these questions upon which more than 12,000 ministers have made their unequivocal declaration. . . .

Ministers know this. Yet more than 10,000 of them are willing to have the world know that they personally will never support or sanction another war, or participate in it as armed combatants, and they hold the conviction that the time has come for the church to serve notice that it cannot be counted upon to bless war ever again. That there are ten thousand ministers who hold such convictions, and have the courage of them, will be an amazing disclosure to the military-minded organizations who make and publish blacklists of "dangerous" and "subversive" public men whose views on national defense render it inadvisable to allow their appearance on programs of business and professional and women's clubs and patriotic celebrations. . . .

The Christian ministry is becoming aware of the fact that in the matter of peace and war it faces a situation which demands the highest order of heroism. The time has gone when one may look wistfully back to the early church, or to the Reformation period, or to the days of the Scottish Covenanters and envy the Christians

of those days their opportunity to play the hero's part. . . .

This, let it be repeated, is an act of profound courage. But it is not so courageous as the same act would have been, say, three years ago. Since the signing of the Peace Pact by which war *for any cause whatever* was made illegal throughout the world, the status of the conscientious objector to war has been radically altered. Before war was outlawed the declaration of these ten thousand ministers that they will not participate in any future war would have been regarded—and perhaps rightly—as a threat held over the government's head. Even so, there were brave souls who for conscience' sake were willing to put God above Caesar and take the consequences. But the situation has been basically changed. Such a declaration cannot now be construed as a threat directed toward the government; it is a patriotic act in support of the government's honor.

It will not be so understood at first, but its chief value lies in the use that can be made of it to educate intelligence with respect to the fact that war is now outlawed and that the nation has pledged its honor not to resort to it for the settlement of any dispute whatever. If these ten thousand ministers are charged, as they will be, with threatening their government and weakening its policy, their reply is an absolute denial. They are not threatening their government, but supporting it. They are not weakening its policy, but strengthening its hand. If there is an element of threat in their declaration it is directed not at the government but at those unpatriotic citizens and organizations which are striving to nullify international law and compromise our national honor by preparations for a war which our nation has solemnly promised never to wage. These ministers will be called pacifists and charged in certain quarters with treason. Their reply will be that they are patriots; that if they are pacifists, their government by the same token also is pacifist, for their government renounced war before they renounced it.

Edmund D. Soper, President Ohio Wesleyan University.

It is my conviction that it is altogether possible for the Church to put an end to war. I believe one of the most glaring weaknesses of the Christian Church is that it does not realize what power it possesses. This power can only be realized on two conditions. It is necessary for the ministers and the leaders among the laymen of the Church to realize that this power is actually in their hands. In the second place, it is necessary for the Church to be unified in this campaign against war. One of the most serious effects of the lack of unity in action in the Christian Church is that it has not done this very thing—put a stop to war. It was only when the Christian Church took the slavery problem in earnest that it was possible to muster public opinion so as to bring this curse to an end. It was only when the Christian Church took the liquor problem seriously that it was possible to pass the Eighteenth Amendment and to accomplish as much as has already been done in putting an end to the liquor traffic.

I do not for a moment believe that we are in an ideal position—but that is not the point. What is needed is to see clearly that all that has been accomplished has been made possible by the united conviction of the Christian Church, and that the ultimate success of this fight against war can only be achieved when the Church loses its lethargy and sets itself as strenuously to see this problem through as it did in certain stages when laws were being passed against the liquor traffic. . . . No other agency can do it; this agency can—if it sees the point and sets itself to the task.

Not in the Headlines

An Insatiable Appetite

Armed preparedness and war payments of all kinds consumed \$2,124,737,000 of American Federal funds during the first nine months of the fiscal year 1931, according to a report issued by the Treasury Department, or 68 per cent of the total for that period.

Sixteen States and Their Aged

The passage of an old-age pension law by the New Jersey legislature on April 21st brings the number of states operating under security provisions for the aged to 16, or one-third of the Union.

Cure for Unemployment

A travel bureau sign in the Yale University post office reads: "Seniors! You can not get a job this summer. Why not go to Europe and wait until the depression is over?"

Air Maneuvers Denounced

A protest against the air maneuvers over Chicago on May 19th was telegraphed to President Hoover and Secretary Hurley by the Evanston Ministerial Association.

Socialism in Action

Over 30 million people in the United States are attending some form of school and more than three billion dollars annually are required to pay the bills, points out Statistician Foster of the Department of the Interior. Most of this education is a part of the vast program of socialism now being conducted in the United States.

American Labor Seeks Radio Station

Stations WCFL and W9XAA, originally owned by the Chicago Federation of Labor, are at present being held in trust as part of the property of the American Labor movement. As soon as the latter attains national facilities for broadcasting these stations will be merged into a coöperative broadcasting association owned and controlled by labor for service rather than profit. Although cleared channels have been allocated by the Federal Radio Commission to forty corporations, efforts to pass a bill granting a cleared channel to the labor movement failed in the last session of Congress.

League of Colored Peoples

At the first meeting of the newly organized League of Colored Peoples in England, members were enrolled from India, Burma, Ceylon, South Africa, Bermuda, West Indies, China, England, and the United States. The objectives of the new organization are as follows: (1) To promote the economic, educational, civic, and social interests of colored peoples; (2) To advance the personal progress of colored peoples in Great Britain, particularly to assist colored peoples in distress; (3) To improve relations between races; (4) To coöperate with organizations sympathetic to colored peoples; (5) To encourage interest in the welfare of colored peoples in all parts of the world; (6) To coöperate with the N. A. A. C. P.

Fore and Aft

The French press is now complaining bitterly that the wheat growers of Central and South-Eastern Europe are destined to be strangled by dumping at the hands of the Bolsheviks of U. S. S. R. and the Yankees of U. S. A.

To Sell Below Cost

A warning has been sounded by the Wheat Advisory Committee and made public by the Federal Farm Board that "with an average wheat crop this year prices obtainable will be far below the cost of production, causing great loss and hardship to American farmers."

Farm Relief

Federal loans to farmers for drought relief now total 35 million dollars. The minimum of two million agricultural sufferers have therefore received an average of \$17 per person.

Flag Salute Not Compulsory

The School Board of Newport News, Virginia, has ruled that a pupil need not join in the morning flag salute if the rite is in conflict with his religious scruples. An appeal from this decision was made by representatives of the American Legion to the State Board of Education. The latter body denied the appeal on the ground that it had no jurisdiction over the controversy.

England vs. the Confederacy

The question of English claims against Mississippi and other Southern states which remain in default on approximately 75 million dollars worth of bonds issued before and after the Civil War is being agitated by the British protective organization known as the Council of Foreign Bondholders. Lord Redesdale, in discussing the matter before the House of Lords, suggested the possibility of an adjustment through cancellation of part of the British war debt to the United States.

Federal Motor Bus Legislation

Prior to 1925 interstate bus lines were regulated by State authorities, such as railway or utility commissioners. In that year, however, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision denying the right of state authorities to regulate motor bus companies engaged in interstate commerce. Since 1925 numerous efforts have been made to have Congress enact legislation for Federal control of inter-state passenger buses.

Soviet Community Kitchens

"Kitchen-Factory No. 1", a Russian adaptation of the community kitchen idea, has been in operation by the Soviet Government since 1929. The purpose of the kitchen-factory is to relieve women from the drudgery of domestic tasks and to free them for other pursuits. Furnished with up-to-date equipment for large-scale cooking—mechanical potato peelers, electric bread-cutting machines, large soup vats, etc.—the kitchen turns out 40,000 dinners daily, 15,000 of which are served in a restaurant on the premises. The remainder are distributed to factories and schools all over the city.

Vote Before Fighting

Admiral Samuel McGowan, United States Navy, retired, recently advocated a constitutional amendment providing for a popular referendum before war can be declared, except in the case of an actual attack or invasion.

Another Socialist Mayor

Racine, Wisconsin, has now joined the ranks of American cities with Socialist mayors. Mr. William Swoboda was recently elected by a comfortable margin.

Commercial Failures Rise

In March there was a record number of 2,604 commercial defaults in the United States, according to R. G. Dun & Company. This brings the total for the first quarter of the year to 4,483, itself an all-time record for a similar period.

Bank Failures More Numerous

There were 270 bank failures in the United States during the first three months of the current year, as compared with 124 during the same period last year, and the total liabilities of the former were nearly three times that of the latter, we learn from R. G. Dun & Company.

Tariffs Heighten Tension

The economic depression has resulted in an upward revision of tariffs throughout the world, and this in turn has produced keener competition and deeper resentment among nations, in the opinion of Henry Chalmers, Chief of the Division of Foreign Tariffs, of the Department of Commerce.

Disarmament Plebiscite

A personal plebiscite carried out by Constant Petit, a French farmer, revealed that 90 per cent of the people in St. Sauveur-de-Nuaillé are in favor of complete and immediate disarmament and, as a first step, the abolition of military conscription and the destruction of all war materials by April 1932. M. Petit carried on the plebiscite without any support other than the official permission of the local mayor of his own town and of five other towns in the same province.

New Negro College in Kentucky

The first of its kind in the United States, the Louisville College for Negroes opened on February 9th as a section of the municipal Louisville University, with a four-year course and the same standards as other parts of the institution. The laws of Kentucky require the separation of Negroes and whites in schools and colleges. The novel feature of the new venture at Louisville is the incorporation of a Negro college in what has hitherto been a municipal university exclusively for white students.

Omnibus College

An Omnibus College as a supplement for the usual summer session has been arranged by the University of Wichita and the University of Nebraska. The first unit of this "college on wheels" tours from June 1st to July 15th; the second tour extends from July 17th to September 1st. More than 820 students and teachers have enrolled for the 1931 session. Courses for which credit is given include biology, American history, and field geography. Six thousand miles of travel are offered covering 25 states and two Canadian provinces. Students travel in buses and camp in tents. Among those in charge of the tours are a dean of women and an expert dietician who plans the meals.

Cancellation Would Help More

Bishop Stires, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Long Island, recently urged the cancellation of the war debts and expressed the opinion that such action would make a greater contribution to world peace than the signing of the Paris Peace Pact.

The High Cost of Recruiting

To recruit a sailor for the United States Navy now costs \$85 per man, instead of the \$66.78 average of last year, according to a report recently published by the Department of the Navy.

Farmers Are Receiving Smaller Share

From *The Bache Review* we learn that the estimated proportion of agricultural income to that emanating from all sources was halved in the last twenty years, falling from 20.4 per cent to 10.2 per cent.

Nearly a Billion Dollars

The total expenditures for war veterans' relief from Federal funds for the fiscal year 1931 will be 845 million dollars, according to an estimate published by Brigadier General Frank T. Hines.

American Students Abroad

A total of 736 American students are studying this year in British universities. This is an increase of about 25 per cent as compared with the number registered during the academic year 1929-1930.

Foreigners on Our Shores

In 1929-30 more than 10,000 foreign students were registered in some 450 American institutions of higher learning. This is an increase of 10 per cent or more over the preceding year. The Chinese and Canadians lead the list with 1,294 and 1,263 students respectively, according to the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students. Japanese numbered 987, Filipinos 887, Russians 538, Germans 397, English 365, Mexicans 315.

Canada Leads

Of the 386,272 citizens of the United States who reside abroad 218,717 of them live in Canada, according to a report recently made public by the Secretary of State. The totals for other regions are: South America, 13,724; Mexico and Central America, 19,012; West Indies and Bermuda, 20,798; Africa, 3,470; Asia, 20,286; Europe, 88,209; Australasia, 1,956.

A General Staff for Peace

The appointment of an International Council of Action to function as a General Staff for War Resistance has been suggested by Mr. Elis C. Flodh, according to a report in *The War Resister*. The idea is advanced that the General Staff should be prepared to call a general strike against mobilization in the respective countries, counteract war lies, and maintain contacts among war resisters of different nations.

Why Not Abolish Red?

The red flags hitherto used by the Junior Safety Patrol of Wichita at dangerous intersections near schools have been changed to green and white flags, at the instigation of the Reserve Officers Association, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and other patriotic societies, in order to avoid the possibility of instilling radical ideas into youthful minds by familiar contact with the red flag.

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

Then Why Compulsory R. O. T. C.?

Compulsory military training in peace time is not in consonance with our ideals or the spirit of our democracy.—*Secretary Wilbur in the United States Daily, April 7, 1931.*

Anachronistic T. N. T.

The old doctrine of "Each for himself and God for us all" which Canning enunciated a hundred years ago after the wreck of the Holy Alliance does not fit into a twentieth-century world. A national tariff act, passed in utter disregard of its consequences abroad, is today an anachronism. It is a throwback to an age of savage conquest. The whole question of tariffs belongs in the international field. It is a problem for common counsel and joint consideration. As a weapon of attack to be used by one nation against the rest, it would be classified with T. N. T. and poison gas. The world must submit to economic disarmament as well as military disarmament.—*Raymond B. Fosdick in International Conciliation, February 1931.*

Ninety Per Cent Less Than Fifty Dollars

As regards the existence of democracy in Germany, the movement is certainly a danger. It is even more serious as a symptom—the symptom of the disintegration of the political system and social conditions in Germany. If the old bourgeois parties no longer have any driving force, it is because they have lost their right to exist. In fact the middle class has ceased to exist. We have between thirty-two and thirty-three million breadwinners in the country, 90 per cent of whom earn less than \$50 (200 marks) per month. Of the sixty-five million Germans, only 2½ millions possess a fortune of more than \$1,250 (5,000 marks) and only seventy-nine thousand possess a fortune of more than \$25,000 (100,000 marks), so that to all intents and purposes the middle class has disappeared.—*Herr Wolf von Dewall in the Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, January 1931.*

"Hang It All, He's a Native!"

The majority of Europeans would object to eating in company or rather eating in equality of circumstances with a black. They have no objection, *per se*, to the presence of natives in the dining room, for the table boys are natives. But the sight and thought of a black sitting down to dine with them would exasperate most settlers to the point of ejecting the black man with such vocal or physical force as might be requisite. Settlers would doubtless be puzzled to give logical reasons for their objection. They would probably find no fault with the black diner's behavior; they would probably admit that he was "a decent enough fellow: but, hang it all, he's a native!" Equally, the spectacle of a native, however, well comported, educated and dressed, and though he might be the chief of a tribe drawing a government honorarium—the spectacle of him dining in dinner dress at one of Nairobi's European hotels would be a public and press sensation.—*Captain W. Hichens in the Fortnightly Review, February 1931.*

The Unkindest Cut of All

No race can be raised by destroying its self-respect. That is the cruelest and most deadly thing that white men's civilization can do to natives.—*Lord Olivier, The Anatomy of African Misery, p. 177.*

Probably Remote Future

If Russia ever reaches the status of a country where efficiently managed industries and large-scale agricultural enterprises yield a huge marketable surplus, it might become a formidable competitor to capitalist countries by hurling this surplus on the world's market at low prices. But this status lies in a probably remote future. At the present time Russia's exports, especially in the case of food products (with the exception of grain, of which the country has a reasonably adequate internal supply) often represent severe deprivations for the population.—*William Henry Chamberlain in the New Republic, February 18, 1931.*

One of Many Youth Movements

It is precisely in the youth movement that I see the worst peril for Europe. Mussolinis and Stalins and Hitlers are preaching the Children's Crusade and arming them mentally and physically. Again the older men are leading the young into war. From the cradle to the firing line. The youth movement, it seems to me, is now so far corrupted that little can be done with it. Even if we suppose that the Communist or the Fascist regime will give way to a liberal government, it will take a generation to undo the evil of another generation. Meanwhile the danger of war grows daily. The really "great war" for which youth is being prepared. The best that can be done in this vicious situation is merely to prevent these millions from having the chance to exercise on vast battlefields their military eagerness, their well-trained hatreds, their super-patriotism.—*George Seldes in Harper's Monthly Magazine, March 1931.*

Not One Cent for Babies

Every year 16,000 mothers fail to answer roll call on Mother's Day. They die having babies. Two-thirds of these mothers need not have died. Among 22 nations the death rate in the United States is the highest. . . . Article IV of the Children's Charter of President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection reads: "For every child full preparation for his birth, his mother receiving prenatal, natal, and postnatal care; and the establishment of such protective measures as will make child-bearing safer." And in the last session of Congress the Jones-Cooper bill to appropriate \$1,000,000 to the Children's Bureau "to promote the health and welfare of mothers and children" failed to pass. Congress did appropriate \$30,000,000 to modernize three battle ships. Half a million is appropriated to the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice. And babies and mothers die tragically—tragically because they might have been saved had maternity centers and adequate care been provided.—*Life and Labor Bulletin, May 1931.*

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

The Military Mind on Record

My Experiences in the World War. By General John J. Pershing. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 2 vols., \$10.00.

THESE are notable volumes. The story of the American Commander-in-Chief's part in the war is told with clarity and impressiveness. As an administrator and as a soldier, General Pershing carved out for himself an enduring niche in the hall of fame.

More has been revealed by these pages, however, than was intended. The military mind at its best is shown to be insensitive to the real causes of the war. General Pershing continues to hand out wartime platitudes and gives no evidence of having acquainted himself with the latest findings of historical scholarship concerning the origins of that great combat. It would be easy to assume that he has never so much as heard the names of Fay, Gooch, and Renouvin. What caused the war? The General answers: "The details of what happened in the beginning are well known and the world has long since fixed the blame where it properly belongs—on the shoulders of the German Government of 1914." General Pétain is quoted with approval: "When Vienna was, perhaps, on the point of negotiating, William hastened to force the conflict by declaring war on Russia before Austria could even act and to the despair of the entire world." The wartime comment of the American Commander-in-Chief is reprinted: "I cannot think it possible that anyone should hold a different view of why we are in the war . . . the truth has been clearly pointed out. . . ." Concerning this "truth," Professor Sidney B. Fay, the most eminent American authority on the subject, writes: "While it is true that Germany, no less than all the other Great Powers, did some things which ultimately resulted in the World War, it is altogether false to say that she deliberately plotted to bring it about or was solely responsible for it. On the contrary, she worked more effectively than any other Great Power, except England, to avert it, not only in the last days of July, 1914, but also in the years immediately preceding." It is extremely unfortunate that so attractive and influential a person as General Pershing should help to perpetuate the tragic myth that modern war is caused by a guilty nation springing upon innocent neighbours.

Much emphasis is placed upon the lack of preparedness in 1917, and from some passages one might easily suppose that the two volumes are glorified tracts on the need for armed preparedness. The fact is revealed that a month after we entered the war "we had for issue, not in the hands of troops, only about 285,000 Springfield rifles, 400 light field guns, and 150 heavy field guns." Yet the War Department had expended nearly a billion dollars during the preceding five years! Was this huge sum wisely used? The General laments the fact that, sixteen months after we entered the war, he was compelled "to send men into battle with little knowledge of warfare and sometimes with no rifle practice

at all." Why? War expenditures had long since reached the proportions of a mighty torrent.

So poor was the judgment shown in forwarding supplies to France that Pershing on one occasion cabled an order to cease sending cuspidors, bath bricks, and lawn mowers. That bungling was not confined to American officials is revealed by war memoirs from other belligerent countries. The editor of the *Literary Digest* has assembled some of the evidence in a volume entitled *Colossal Blunders of the War*, itself a plea for armed preparedness. No nation considered itself adequately prepared and none avoided ghastly mistakes. After citing an abundance of evidence, Mr. Woods says: "The huge and tragical mistakes of Germany, Austria, Great Britain, France, and Italy make ours seem like flea-bites in contrast."

The fact is that adequate preparedness for modern war is utterly impossible. The conflict is pitched on too vast a scale and involves too many aspects of a nation's life to make possible comprehensive planning. In an illuminating sentence General Pershing says: ". . . war itself is the real school where the art of war is learned." If another great war comes, all the belligerents will enter the combat in a state of unpreparedness, although national treasuries are being bankrupted by military and naval expenditures. When will people awaken to the futility of depending upon armed preparedness for safety? That security and justice may be maintained more effectively by abandoning the war system and relying wholly upon the peace system—diplomacy, conciliation, arbitration, conferences, the World Court, the League of Nations, and other international agencies—is an idea which seems never to have entered the mind of General Pershing.

At least twenty-three times the American Commander-in-Chief refers to "the low morale and the worn condition of the Allied armies" . . . "France is very tired of this war," . . . "something bordering on revolution might occur," . . . "an extremely dark picture of disaster," . . . "this pessimistic and despondent mood of the people," . . . "dissatisfaction in the ranks was widespread, amounting in places to open mutiny." . . . "It is undeniable that the British Army is now exhausted." . . . "The morale of the British, French and Italian armies is low. . . ." We now know that similar statements were constantly being made concerning the German troops and their allies. On at least four occasions, the Central Powers sent out peace feelers and gave evidence of readiness to end the war. If the United States had not entered the conflict, there is a strong probability that in 1917 the war would have ended as a draw—the "peace without victory" once urged by President Wilson. That a drawn combat and a negotiated peace would have been better for humanity than the dictated Treaty of Versailles, has apparently never occurred to General Pershing. On the contrary, he regarded the Armistice terms as too mild and urged nothing less than "unconditional surrender." Not satisfied with the Carthaginian terms imposed at Versailles, the General says: "The surrender of the German armies would

have been an advantage to the Allies in the enforcement of peace terms and would have been a greater deterrent against possible future German aggression."

These volumes are filled with illuminating sidelights. Reference is made to a report of an intelligence officer of the American army who "characterized Lenin and Trotsky as being in the pay of the Germans and who said the real governor of Russia was the German Ambassador." Although the British were constantly pleading that American troops should be sent to their support, they protested when notified that among the divisions being sent for training with their armies was the 92nd, a Negro division. Lord Milner wrote that "a good deal of administrative trouble would, I think, necessarily arise if the British Army had to undertake the training of a colored division." The hint was taken, and the 92nd was sent elsewhere to help make the world safe for democracy. Concerning his experiences with chaplains in the past, General Pershing wrote, "Custom in our army, arising from lack of proper appreciation of the important duties of chaplains, had often relegated them to the status of handy men who were detailed to write up boards of survey or operate libraries."

K. P.

The Aftermath of Southern Strikes

When Southern Labor Stirs. By Tom Tippet. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. \$2.50.

SINCE the spring of 1929 the South has been coming of age industrially. Elizabethton, Gastonia, Marion, and Danville are names which will be passed down in labor history along with Homestead, Haymarket Square, and Ludlow.

When Southern Labor Stirs, by Tom Tippet, is the most complete account which has appeared of the strikes and their aftermath. As extension lecturer for Brookwood Labor College the author became acquainted with conditions in the South before the outbreak of the strikes, and his work bears the marks of first-hand experience. After introductory chapters sketching the background of the workers and conditions in the mills, there follows a chapter on "The Class Struggle and the Union", giving an analysis of the philosophies of the two union groups which contended for the allegiance of the workers—the Communists and the American Federation of Labor. A sharp picture is drawn of the attitude of the public, the mill officials, and the forces of the law toward union activities. Then come chapters dealing with each of the major strikes and the organizing campaign of the American Federation of Labor. By way of conclusion the author predicts the future of unionism in the South.

Mr. Tippet's book makes two valuable contributions. In the first place, it tells in great detail and at times very vividly the strike stories. This reviewer has followed the course of these strikes carefully, and in the main the account given appears to be accurate and fair. In the second place, the author makes an evaluation of the policies and tactics of both the right and left wing unions. Most of the emphasis falls on the American Federation of Labor. In fact, the concluding chapter on the future of unions in the South makes only casual reference to the Communist group. Mr. Tippet condemns the policy of the American Federation of Labor of trying to "convince the boss". He condemns the lethargy and indifference of the A. F. of L. unions to the great opportunity in the South—witness the conduct and conclusion of the strikes, as well as the activities in the "organization campaign." The writer points to the present situation

to prove his contentions that such a policy will not build a union in the South or anywhere else.

One important question remains somewhat undetermined. Just what kind of union will? The author leaves one a little uncertain as to its exact color. It must be more left than the American Federation of Labor but presumably not Communist; it must not fear a revolutionary capital-destroying philosophy, but it must be a practical, class-collaborating instrument; it must concentrate for the present on present gains, but it must not lose its soul in the dinner pail.

In spite of the tragic story, the author is optimistic concerning the indefinite future. He closes with a statement from a striker whose husband was killed at Marion. "Somehow or other we are going to have a union." He comments, "And they will."

LOIS MACDONALD

World Ferment

The Clash of World Forces. By Basil Mathews. Abingdon Press. \$1.50.

BASIL MATHEWS always writes interestingly. He has a vivid style and gathers much fresh material to enliven the points that he is making. In other words he is an able advocate and it is as such that he approaches nationalism, bolshevism, and the materialism of our mechanistic civilization, to show that the world needs the healing power of Jesus' gospel to bring it out of the chaos in which it is involved.

A striking picture is given of the career of Lenin and the rise and development of the Soviet Republic. Similarly Sun Yat Sen is well written up, and one is led through the mazes of the turbulent experience of China since the overthrow of the Manchurian dynasty in 1911. One wonders, however, whether there is not an over-emphasis on the part which Christianity has played and is playing in that drama.

In the case of India, sympathetic as the writer tries to be with Gandhi and his program (and he does succeed in being fair), the fact that he is an Englishman with an absorbing love and respect for the British Commonwealth of Nations makes it impossible for him to avoid an occasionally patronizing attitude toward Indian aspirations.

One wishes that the homiletic note were not so strongly sounded. To begin, as he does, with a parable in the introduction and end with another in the last chapter reveals the author as essentially a speaker, and today most people prefer a more objective study of any situation.

PAUL JONES

Social Indigestion or Racial Assimilation?

Racial Factors in American Industry. By Herman Feldman. Harper and Brothers. \$4.00.

DO what we will about our future immigration policy, we are already destined to live under the same national roof with an aggregate of Negroes, Mexicans, Japanese, Chinese, Filipino and "foreigners" which totals over 31,230,000. As the perplexities of these groups are successively described by the author of this book, based upon his broad experience in our industrial life, the reader finds himself asking certain questions. Is it not the ethical duty of the union-excluded Negro to scab? In our American democracy have we such a racial caste system that it may truthfully be said of the Negro porter, "Once a porter, barring the phenomenal, always a porter?" Are the alleged inferiorities of the Negro workman due to a "background of repression, lack of

experience, poor incentives, infrequency of assignment to positions of responsibility, or do they suggest innate differences?" Are we not largely responsible for making many Orientals in this country live in the very manner for which we condemn them? If we are not going to give the Filipinos equal rights here, should we not give them independence in their own country? Must we not bring all our racial prejudices "before the bar of objective and rational reconsideration" if we would avoid serious economic losses and find a solution to this great problem which confronts us?

But we are not left solely with questions. Definite ways and means are pointed out by which education, labor, government, industry, and a host of other forces and agencies can effect the changes without which we are destined to experience painful social indigestion rather than peaceful racial assimilation.

RAYMOND SANFORD

Hinduism or Humanism?

Hinduism Invades America. By Wendell Thomas. Beacon Press. \$2.50.

The Religion of Man. By Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. \$2.50.

HINDUISM INVADES AMERICA is a well-written treatise on the teachings and religious activities of Indian teachers. It reviews the meaning of Hindu faith, and introduces us to such men as Rama-krishna, Vivekananda, Yogananda, Gnaneshwarananda, and Mazumdar. However, written as it is from the standpoint of a Christian and a scholar, the book misses one valuable point: that the essence of Christianity and so-called Hinduism are the same. Both, in other words, are humanistic. Mr. Thomas should have called his volume "True Christianity Comes Home to America." For if humanism be the basis of true religion, the thing these teachers from India are trying to bring us is not their own narrow cult but the essence of all religions: love of man, service of man, and evolution of man toward his highest and truest destiny. Since these ideals are precisely what Jesus sought, for idiotic pulpiteers to go about denouncing humanism as a frontal attack on Christianity is as absurd as the man who stood on his head and said the whole world was upside down.

Tagore's book is a subtle and devastating rebuke of our modern civilization and scientific world where quantity is worshipped rather than quality. "Our needs have multiplied so furiously that we have lost our leisure for the deeper realization of our self and our faith in it. It means that we have lost our religion, the longing for the touch of the divine in man, the builder of the heaven, the music-maker, the dreamer of dreams. . . ."

I suggest that Mr. Thomas read Tagore's book. He will no longer think of Hinduism as an alien faith—an eccentric cult seeking to fasten itself upon a superior Christianity. He will see it as a bough on the tree of universal religion, the roots of which are deep in the soil of man.

Christianity at its best is humanism, for Jesus himself was a humanist. Not a humanist in patent-leather shoes and high hat like the college professors, but a lover of mankind—one who saw the divine in all men. And whoever teaches that service to others is the greatest thing in the world is teaching exactly what Christ did. Any religion that is worth its salt is a religion of man—teaching the godhood of man, the everlasting growth and beauty and power of the human spirit, the everlasting worth of the humblest, meanest, poorest child on earth. And teaching, too, the universal kinship of all men and all nature.

VINCENT BURNS

A Challenge to Students

Toward a New Economic Society: A Program for Students.

Published by the Council of Christian Associations, 600 Lexington Ave., New York City. Price 15 cents.

GROWING insecurity of farmers and workers in America constitutes a threat to our civilization. With each person receiving an average reward of only \$669 for the year 1930 and 80 million individuals living on less than \$700 a year, with five to twelve million workers unemployed and millions more facing an insecure old age, we have a problem that must be met.

A program of national planning with control of production, capitalization, and credit could eliminate economic depression and stop the suffering caused by unemployment and the other forms of insecurity. *Toward a New Economic Society* constitutes a challenge to students to help build this more just order. This outline is the work of a commission of the student Christian Association movement under the chairmanship of Francis A. Henson. It begins where the student lives. It portrays the economic implications of being a student, it brings home his social responsibility for the prolongation of dependence granted him. It questions the influence of courses, collegiate environment, and extra-curricular activities, as well as the economic policy of some of our higher institutions of learning. A suggestive bibliography and a practical list of projects, studies, and surveys are appended to the pamphlet.

While the program omits some vital subjects and is out of focus at times—as in its insistence upon the place of the coöperative movement to the virtual exclusion of the more important field of public ownership of public utilities—yet it is a challenging document that I wish might be placed in the hands of every student and parent in America.

HOWARD Y. WILLIAMS

What the Future Holds in Store for Us

Germany and the Germans. By Eugen Diesel. Translated by W. D. Robsen-Scott. Macmillan Co. \$2.00.

MR. DIESEL'S book is valuable not only for those who wish to understand Germany but also for those who want a vivid picture of western civilization, since, as the author suggests, every force and factor which operates in the life of modern man has its most obvious portrayal in Germany. "Germany is the least common denominator, the real victim of this period of universal experimentation. We are going through a test so severe that only what is genuine in our economic life, in our intellectual endeavors, in our moral, religious and social ideals, will be able to survive".

The desperate condition of German finance and the unhappy political fate of the nation, coupled with the philosophical temper of the people which prompts them to give every political and cultural viewpoint the sharpest possible definition, combine to make Germany a miniature of modern civilization in which certain things can be more clearly discerned than in the larger view. Nationalistic feeling, social radicalism, the division between secure and insecure proletarians, the conflict between the middle-class community holding on to its traditional cultural treasures and the radical worker who is too disinherited to care about race or nation, the drift toward mechanization and the opposition to the machine in the name of a more spiritual conception of life—all these forces and contrasts which have become increasingly a part of the life of the western world are fully revealed in Germany in vivid not to say glaring colors. We can prophesy what the future holds in store for us if we scrutinize the German scene with care.

R. N.

WE RECOMMEND

Civilization and Its Discontents, by Sigmund Freud. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 144 pages. \$2.25. An essay reaffirming what the great psychoanalyst has made the central note of his teaching—that man is at war with civilization, that the instincts of life and nature are arrayed against the instincts of destruction. Originally published in German, the present volume is competently translated by Joan Riviere.

Survey of American Foreign Relations, edited by Charles R. Howland for the Council on Foreign Relations. Yale University Press. \$5.00. The 1930 volume in an annual series. More than half the space is devoted to problems of the Pacific, including an illuminating short history of China's foreign relations during the past century. Long sections are given to a discussion of the question of limitation of armaments, the problems of war debts, and other financial controversies.

The Third Degree, by Emanuel H. Lavine. Vanguard Press. 248 pages. \$2.00. If the stories related in this book—stories of unspeakable cruelty and brutality practiced by the police to wring confessions from prisoners—are ugly, even more so is the system which permits their occurrence. According to the author who was a police reporter in New York, 70 per cent of all convictions obtained in our courts are achieved by what is known as the "third degree." Lawyers and judges, social workers and civil reformers know of its existence, but the practice persists in every large city.

Social Psychology of International Conduct, by George Malcolm Stratton. Appleton. 387 pages. \$3.00. The outstanding thing one feels about this book is its sturdy courage, its determination that war must go, that it can go, and that human nature need not be remade before peace as a dynamic way of life can prevail. But this is no silly superficial optimism; Dr. Stratton is a scholar. His chapters deal with almost every phase of the mental problem of international conduct and attitudes, and he is not ignorant of economics, as some psychologists have seemed. Here is a book which jolly well gives the *coup de grace* to the old psychology of exaggerated Darwinian human cussedness, and it will set hard with the professional war-condoning sob-sisters, who hate war so much they are ready to fight it just to prove it has to be.

The Genius of Mexico, edited by Herbert C. Herring and Katharine Terrill. The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America. 334 pages. \$2.50. A volume containing the lectures delivered before the Fifth Seminar in Mexico, 1930. It is an exceedingly interesting and enlightening volume and one that should contribute to mutual understanding. Various aspects of Mexico's life—her Indian heritage, her extraordinarily rich, artistic life, her creative educational policies which are being so admirably adapted to the needs of her people, her economic, agrarian and labor problems, the religious forces at work both Catholic and Protestant, her effort to shake off the curse of alcoholism, her finely conceived legislative code, her attitude toward the United States and the coming of her people to this country—all these are discussed by outstanding Mexicans and by persons from the United States who speak frankly and differ in good will.

A World Community, by John Herman Randall. Stokes. 294 pages. \$2.50. Smashing down old barriers and clinging prejudices, Dr. Randall with his usual force and clarity pleads for a new world of close coöperation and shows how the obstacles in the path may be conquered. A clean, refreshing antidote for cynicism and smallmindedness.

CORRESPONDENCE

Destroying Land Monopoly

IN your editorial about "the little old lady of Fifth Avenue the last of the Wendels", you ask, "What could be more perfect than to have a family destroy itself by its own greed?" My answer is: To have society destroy the institution of land monopoly that deprives men of their economic independence and thus make possible the amassing of practically all great fortunes—whether founded directly on the privilege of land monopoly or not.

You question the right of testation—"whether this little old lady, or any other man or woman, should have the right to divide socially created wealth." I deny the right of this little old lady or any other man or woman, to *collect* socially created wealth. I maintain that if society collected the socially created wealth which land values alone reflect, there would be no problem of the right of testation. I hold that if the rent of the land were collected by society for social purposes, the backbone of the economic power of one person over his fellows would be broken. I assert that if every individual enjoyed an equal right to the earth, no one could be a parasite, and no one could levy "tribute on the millions who come after."

The Wendels have passed on, but the rent of the land under New York City has not stopped. It will flow into the coffers of the privileged until its flow is diverted by the power of taxation into the public treasury for public purposes.

You recognize in your admirable editorial on "The Death of Liberalism" that "inequality of income is the root of our major domestic and international problems, and we know that the power which property holds in our society is the basis of this inequality." But "property" is a vague term with many meanings. Privilege alone gives power. And what is the root of privilege if it is not in the exclusive control which a few have of our productive lands and natural resources—of the earth upon which and from which all men must live?

Chicago, Ill.

JOHN LAWRENCE MONROE

A New Move in Europe

THE greatest curse of post-war Europe is the spirit of fear and suspicion which kills every attempt to put international relations on a basis of coöperation and mutual confidence. That spirit can be exorcised only by its opposite. While truces and arrangements like those of Locarno and Paris (Kellogg) are facts, no real break has been made with the old methods; armaments, tariff walls, antagonisms, and defensiveness are greater than ever.

In 1929, when a sincere effort toward friendship was being made between Britain and America, France, seeing in this move a check to her prestige, took up the project of a United Europe which M. Briand launched at the League of Nations Assembly. The project has experienced a number of vicissitudes since that time, and the League Assembly in 1930 showed little enthusiasm for the idea. It was at this Assembly that Dr. Schober

tria's Prime Minister at the time, proposed that the establishment of "regional understandings" between groups of nations having a common objective would be quite in keeping with Briand's idea of Pan-Europa. The proposal was well received in Geneva, and Dr. Schober achieved credit as a statesman and a peace-maker. Among the agrarian states of Eastern Europe a regional understanding has already been arrived at for mutual aid in the disposal of their surplus grain. Two of these states, Rumania and Yugoslavia, have even proposed a customs union with each other. Similarly the Baltic states, Latvia and Esthonia, have a regional understanding, as have the Scandinavian countries along with Finland. Now Germany and Austria propose a customs union and invite other states to join. What follows this move serves to reveal the rotten condition of Europe politically.

Czecho-Slovakia was at first non-committal, until she ascertained what support she could count upon in opposing the project. Her fears and combats any accession of strength to Germany. The project itself also cuts across the idea of a Danubian Federation in which the Czech Foreign Minister, Dr. Benes, has long been identified. Further, Czecho-Slovakia would be surrounded on all three sides by the Austro-German customs union, if she failed to join in with it.

The Peace Treaties require that Germany respect the independence of Austria and that Austria herself shall in no way relinquish any degree of her independence. Now France and Czecho-Slovakia point out that these pledges will be violated if a German-Austrian customs union be realized. The latter countries deny this, and assert that Austria retains her economic as well as her political freedom under the terms of the customs union. In view of the present excited state of opinion as a result of this German-Austrian demarche, one is inclined to admit the aim made by Britain (dissociating herself from the violent denunciations thrown out by France) that the Council of the League be allowed to pass judgment upon this question of interpretation. The economic events of the post-war years have brought Germany and Austria to the place where such a customs union is absolutely imperative. They are taking the first step toward carrying out the idea of regional understanding, already blessed by the League, and supported by people of good will who see the urgent necessity for Europe's breaking away from the traditional cycle of fear, suspicion and stalemate. There is little doubt that apart from political considerations the League, or for that matter the Hague Court, will uphold the right of Austria to include a customs union. The sting to some countries in this Austro-German move lies wholly in the fact that Germany is taking the lead.

Vienna, Austria

DONALD GRANT

ANNOUNCEMENTS

World Y. M. C. A. Conference

FOR the first time in the history of the Y. M. C. A. its world conference will be held in the United States. Delegates from fifteen nations will convene at Cleveland, August 4-9, 1931, at the Twentieth World Conference of the World's Alliance of Y. M. C. A., which has its headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland. The conference will be conducted in English, French and German. Among the leaders of the association in other countries to expect to attend are: Hugo Cedergren, editor of the Swedish Y. M. C. A. publication; Behari Lal Rallia Ram, Acting Y. M. C. A.

National General Secretary in India; Julio Navarro Monzo, distinguished Latin American author; Mr. A. Sibelle, General Secretary of the Rome Y. M. C. A.; Professor John Macmurray of the University of London; Professor W. Zenkowsky, Chairman of the Russian Student Christian Movement; Professor Emanuel Radl, President of the Y. M. C. A. in Czecho-slovakia; and others.

Two other international Y. M. C. A. events will be held in North America just preceding the Cleveland Conference. The first World Y. M. C. A. Assembly of Young Men will be held in Toronto, Canada, July 27th to August 2nd. Its purpose will be to study the needs of youth in this generation and to co-ordinate the various youth movements which are at work in the world. Also at Toronto from July 27th to August 2nd will convene the third World's Assembly of Y. M. C. A. workers with boys. Leaders of boy life from several nations will gather to study the technique of their profession.

TO OUR READERS

If you would like THE WORLD TOMORROW sent to your summer address, please let us know exactly how long the new address is to be used. Changes must reach us before the 10th of the month in order to be effective for the issue of the following month.

creative camping for your child at the

PIONEER YOUTH CAMP

RIFTON, NEW YORK

For boys and girls 8-16 years old; a rich camp environment including woodcraft and nature lore, arts and crafts, athletics and hikes, dramatics and music; no uniforms, awards, or prizes. Experienced, socially-minded counsellors.

10 weeks' season—\$195

Scholarship rates to workers' children

For illustrated folder, write

WALTER LUDWIG, Executive Director
PIONEER YOUTH OF AMERICA, Inc.

45 Astor Place

New York City

THE DUANE PRESS

Printers of the Better Kind

46-48 New Chambers Street

New York

Phone Beekman 0139

PEACE AND SERVICE COMMITTEE,
Philadelphia.

Yearly Meeting of Friends (Race St.)

Represents a Religious Society which adds to an historic stand against the whole war system, a present-day concern for saving a civilization from militarism and imperialism. This concern is one aspect of our faith in the brotherhood of man, dependent on a Divine Father.

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE

Interpreting the advance toward world community through current movements in Science, Philosophy, Education, Economics, Politics and Religion; articles and serial works by leading scholars of America, Europe, and the East.

\$3.50 per year. Sample copy 25c. Booklet free on request.

4 EAST 12TH STREET, NEW YORK CITY

The Last Page

ONE of the legends you read and hear about foreign travel is that regarding the prevalence of the English language. An American, so the story goes, steps up to a traffic cop, and in halting Lithuanian inquires his way; whereupon the officer, doffing his cap politely, responds about as follows: "Will you not allow me to speak English, Sir? You take the first right, then the second left, stopping before the Café Mogra Prbmlickka, whereupon you will observe, at an oblique right-angle opposite, the facade of a modern dwelling, indicative of the inescapable fact that this is the newer portion of our city. Here you will discover our most exhaustive book-store, with everything from belles-lettres to incunabula. And by the way, do you not consider Upton Lewis a more representative American man of letters than Sinclair Sinclair?"

Well, it may happen. But, increasingly, I doubt it. Far more likely is it that the first person—or the seventeenth—you accost for information (a) will not speak English at all; (b) will not know the way, anyhow; (c) will hardly be so rude as to confess he does not know; (d) will tell you something he deeply hopes will prove correct; (e) will become nervous and declaim at an accelerated speed; (f) and will not even speak good Lithuanian. Or German, or Italian, or Czech, or what you will.

The nuances and niceties of the innumerable localisms are not easy for any alien. Often the people of one small section are little less than alien to those of another even in the same land. Your Cornishman really needs an interpreter, a coarse file, and infinite patience to converse politely with one who hails from Lancashire; your true Breton is well-nigh lost along the Paris boulevards; the peasant of Tuscany and his brother of Sardinia have no simple time of it together; and Walloons in certain villages of Belgium would feel as *de trop* in Antwerp as pantaloons in Paradise.

* * *

NO student of the temperance question should overlook the necessity of finding a common tongue if the Demon Rum is to be conquered. In Europe it is a race between Booze and Esperanto with present odds on the former; for only when men are in their cups and have been reduced to the universal, primordial idiom of feeble gestures, can the barricades of speech be fully overthrown. Three shots of low-grade *asti spumanti*, though hardly civilizing in all respects to say the least, would have solved the difficulty at the Tower of Babel and given the pressmen nothing to write home about.

In Provence, for example, Eccentricus could not understand why (and doesn't yet) when he knew a place was to the left but tried to check up, he was always instructed to take the right. But now he has learned that when a Provencal says "*Tout droit*" (All to the right), the informant really means "far to the left". This, I submit, is just a bit unfair if not ridiculous, and somebody ought to Do Something About It. And when the dusky Arlesian, who might have stepped out of one of Caesar's conquering columns to take up the more constructive job of modern baggage-smasher, wants to direct you to the first left, he will most naturally say, "*En face*," meaning, where there is any logic, "Opposite". I am beginning to believe that the people of Provence, after witnessing chariot races for these many centuries and then a thousand years or so of farming on hillside terraces, have given up going to the right altogether. Maybe their left legs are a little shorter, after the fashion of the chickens raised in the Swiss Alps. Wrongdoers, here, must indeed be doomed; no sinner, desiring to repent, could possibly turn to the right. In the language of this section, apparently, it just cannot be done.

ONCE Eccentricus did a bit of spoofing in these columns, poking fun good-naturedly at his matchless French. The truth is, it is not more than half bad. It does seem, though, as if the bad half always comes out in an emergency. Trying to speak jocosely (a most unwise procedure when straying from familiar pastures) he sternly rebuked some fresh gamins whose amusement, even if warranted, had grown a little tiresome; but unfortunately he was an unfortunate traveler. Instead of elevating his nose, looking haughtily upperclass and declaring in Franco-American "You give me a pain in the neck," what he uttered, according to Normala (a not very sympathetic witness) was merely, "I have a headache". The roistering youths looked incredulous, as if wondering what I ached with, but this mystery seemed to dampen their buffoonery. Thus it goes, confirming Eccentricus' previous view that if things are left alone long enough, even if they are meddled with unwisely, progress comes, in one direction or another.

* * *

WHEN the shops close for the noon-day siesta in Central and South Europe, whether it be Zurich or Geneva, Milan or Marseilles, Barcelona or Bordeaux, a convenient method of locking up is not to lock up at all, but to disconnect the door-knob or door-handle, slip it into a side pocket, and go away to luncheon quite unworried. To the fantastic individual who is foolish enough to want to buy something between twelve and fourteen o'clock, the absence of a handle is sign-sufficient that the Two-Hours-for-Lunch-Club is having one of its daily sessions.

Eccentricus is just naturally one of those very trying persons, inquisitive, not to say, persistent, nature. Twice now he has been observed—once, amusingly, once suspiciously—scratching blind away in a vain effort to push or pull a closed door and walk in. Mark Twain once wrote excruciatingly about the torments of one-armed paperhanger with the hives. But this is hardly more pitiable than a traveler in South Europe who has a cold in the head, whose quick-wash isn't due to come back until tomorrow and who finds himself stranded on a strange corner at 12:15 of a windy day, without a handkerchief.

As they say in the upper reaches of the Yampoo River, in the Gneeladrov Peninsula, when they are annoyed, "It's just too bad."

* * *

I SEE by the British press that Mr. William Seaver Woodcock's new book, *Colossal Blunders of the War*, is pretty good. I haven't yet found out what British blunders, if any, were committed, but I take it that some there must have been. *The Daily Herald*, Labor's paper, being a bit better than the others, printed 65 lines of American crass and cruel mistakes, then said: "The book relates many familiar instances of terrible errors made also by the British, French, Germans, and Russians."

Just between us two, Eccentricus knows very well what was America's chief blunder about the War. But there's no news in that; I've said it right along. And just to console you when you hear American jingoism, try this over on your tolerance: "Our supreme asset is the character of our people, who, better fed, better housed, better clothed, better educated, better paid than at any time in the past, are better equipped in health, strength and intelligence to fight for what they hold and to extend their victories than at any previous time in their history."—*The New York World* (Sunday paper). I suppose the fellow thought he was boasting. But *this* isn't saying much.

ECCENTRICUS

JUNE CONFERENCE

League for Industrial Democracy

Thursday, June 25th to Sunday, June 28th, 1931

Camp Tamiment, Forest Park
(near Stroudsburg, Pa.)

"BANKING, CREDIT AND SOCIAL PLANNING"

Conference speakers include Dr. Harold G. Moulton, Dr. Lionel D. Edie, Dr. Max Winkler, Norman Thomas, Professor Willard Thorp, Nicholas Kelley, Professor Benjamin Beckhart, Guy Greer, Max Lowenthal, John T. Flynn, McAlister Coleman, Professor Colston Warne, Louis Waldman, Vladimir D. Kazakevich, Professor E. E. Agger, and Paul Blanchard.

For further information write to

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 East 19th Street New York City

DISCOVERING JESUS

by

WILLIAM G. BALLANTINE

A candid but searching examination of
the Gospel of St. John. \$1.50.

John Haynes Holmes said, "What a shout
we raised when we discovered this book!"

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO.

HELP US DEFEND

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM!

The forces of intolerance and repression attack religious minorities as they do labor, radical, and racial minorities. Religious freedom is challenged by

1. Denial of citizenship because of religious scruples against taking part in war.
2. Compulsory sectarianism in schools.
3. Discrimination against religious minorities.

One aspect of the many-sided work of the

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

is to supply the victims of religious persecution with a vigorous defense. Economic depression brings increased repression. Our work is expanding to such a degree that we cannot handle it all without more

HELP!

We make this urgent appeal to all lovers of freedom of expression, to help the job by joining the Union. We need your support. You need the information and suggestions for action supplied our members. *Send in your membership*

Today

----- Mail coupon with your check -----

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
100 Fifth Avenue, New York

I want to help. Enclosed is my check for a year's membership as specified below.

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ Associate Member, \$1 | ☐ Supporting M'b'r, \$10 |
| ☐ Annual Member, \$2 | ☐ Sustaining M'b'r, \$25 |
| ☐ Contributing M'b'r, \$5 | ☐ Patron, \$100 and over |

Quarterly Review to all members. Bulletins and pamphlets to members paying \$2 and over. Weekly news release to members paying \$10 and over if checked here ☐.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

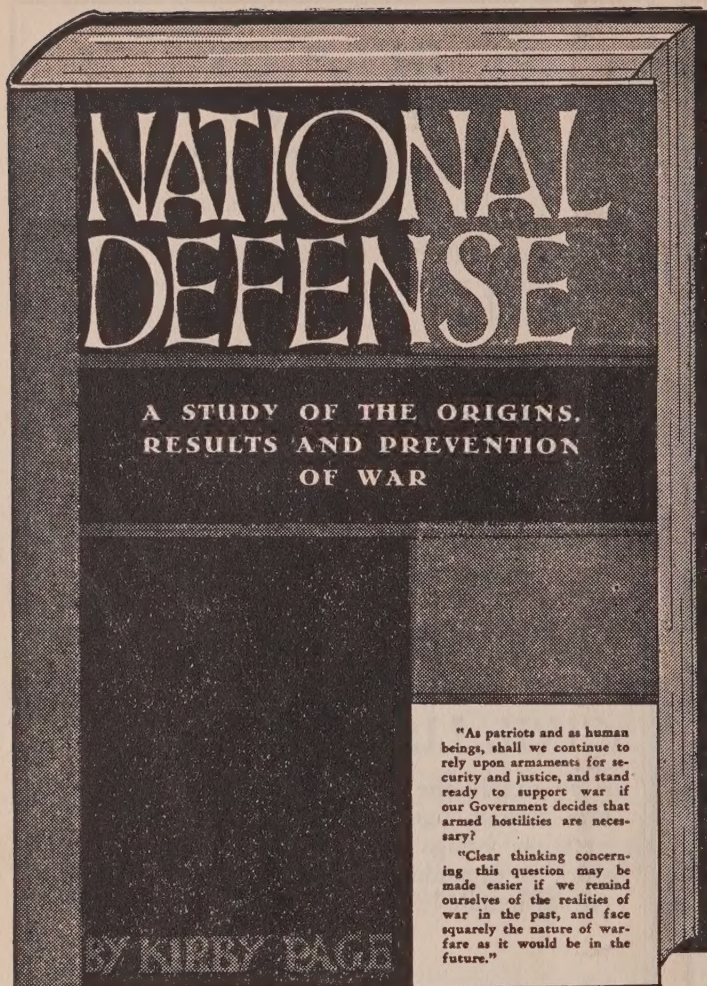
MUST *there be* another WAR?

Get the FACTS in this book
and the 22-point program
of practical peace steps

"If the United States again goes to war it will . . . be to protect our property rights." The author holds no blind faith that the last great war was "a war to end wars". He sees the possibilities of future wars. But he believes that sentimentalism should be replaced by realism.

KIRBY PAGE,

Editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW, has here made "one of the outstanding contributions to the cause of world peace."



Over 400 pages
Regular price \$3.00
SAVE \$2.00!

Use This Coupon

THE WORLD TOMORROW
BOOK SHOP

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, N. Y.

Send me a copy of NATIONAL DEFENSE and enter my subscription for *The World Tomorrow* for the combination price of \$3.00. (Or send me the Book, and the magazine to the name and address attached.)

Name

Address

You should own a copy of

NATIONAL DEFENSE

because it is practical, realistic and comprehensive; because it answers such questions as, Shall we seek security in increased armaments, or shall we put our reliance in a peace system? What are the existing perils to world peace?; and because it provides a definite attitude and program towards the war system. By subscribing to THE WORLD TOMORROW, NOW, or by sending a new subscription, for another person, with your order, you can have both the book and the subscription for \$3, the regular price of the book alone.

Published by FARRAR & RINEHART, New York
and for sale by

THE WORLD TOMORROW BOOK SHOP